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PEASANT ART OF SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA



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PEASANT ART OF SUBCARPATHIAN RUSSIA

Explanatory text by S. Makovskiy

Preface by J. Gordon



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P R E F A C E .

By J. Gordon

"Many sensible things banished from high life find asylum with the mob"

Herman Melville

It is comparatively of recent time that "peasant" art has won any respect from the, so-called, art lover. A mere hundred years ago it had but scant consideration. Then the connoisseur might have indulgently conceded: "Aye. Poor ignorant fellow, he was doing his best". And thus a true word would have been uttered in contempt. He was doing his best indeed: though he who so judged it could not have done better, nor indeed in many cases could the thing — along its particular line — have been bettered by anybody.

Now, we may justly say that peasant art has won its right to serious consideration, and we must eagerly welcome all volumes such as this which enlarge our acquaintance with and our knowledge of little known areas of characteristic art. But may we not ask, what is "peasant" art?

Is it not something made by the people for the people's use, something accepted as quite natural, enjoyed without unnecessary clamour by the people for whom it was made? Essentially peasant art is something rooted in the natural culture of the people. So perhaps it might be easier to answer what is not peasant art. Actually non-peasant art seems to have existed only once — now. The developments of European art since the Renaissance are, I believe, the first appearance of non-peasant art in the history of the world. All the other developments, even including the Greek, are in root peasant arts.

To-day we are prone to talk of Art as a thing unusual, to hold the artist as an exceptional man. We act as though man had a natural bent towards ugliness, as though even aesthetically he were cursed with original sin, from which he is saved by the miracle of Art. Nonsense. No community of men has existed — with the material possibilities of creating art — which has not created art. This proves the fallacy of our modern assumption. Art does not spring from the elevated state of man's intellect, it springs from the natural state of his intelligence. Left to himself the natural man with leisure begins to create art. Massed into communities, directed by the memories of leading intelligences who have moulded the broader aspects of the Arts' character, heritors of an ever-stretching line of tradition, the natural man gives rein to his artistic impulse and creates easily and spontaneously.

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This does not invalidate the worth of his production; a thing is not necessarily valuable because it is difficult. But what shines out clearly is that under normally quiescent conditions man strives to create around himself a unity, unconsciously he evolves a decorative scheme, and everything he touches is at last moulded into one consistent harmony. Man with freedom and with leisure must drift towards beauty as inevitably as the flower turns to the sun. All the peasant arts of the world, all things that man has made for his own use, or to explain his beliefs, are infused with that beauty which comes so easily and unconsciously from the peasant craftsman's hand.

It may seem a paradox to talk of man with freedom bound by a tradition. But indeed tradition is the purest form of freedom, limitations which are unperceived allow the greatest possible liberty within those limitations. With tradition to guide him each artist works to the top of his powers, the less gifted imitates, the second rank varies and rearranges — it is astonishing how many of this kind there are — only the supreme artist dares to innovate. So, freed from the incubus of drastic recreation the mass of artist workers can concentrate their whole care upon subtlety and minor invention. Working in this way the average artist is most happy. I think that the carvers of the Gothic period, or of Egypt or of Assyria were the most fortunate of men. So it was with these peasant craftsmen of Ruthenia. The newly arisen clamour for originality — even from the second rate — is possibly the most pernicious influence which has ever invaded art.

The modern deluge of manufactured ugliness which has already submerged many of the peasant arts of Europe and which is quickly flowing over the rest, springs from two factors, the loss of tradition and the loss of leisure. Its operation is hurried by the illusive beauty of Romance and by the charms of novelty. The peasant arts of Europe received their first wound at the Renaissance when Greece was rediscovered and became cult, they got their death blow when Watt invented the steam engine. From the Renaissance onwards Art became a snobbery; the steam engine flung traditions together and leisure was hurried into the factory. So to-day we are forced to institute museums and to publish books to leave a witness of that wealth of art once broadcast over Europe, and to bear a record that man with real leisure has the true impulse towards beauty.

I regret that this impulse to beauty is not necessarily a very robust thing. Persuasive, penetrating and all pervading though it may be, it has perhaps a misty nature. It gathers density only in still atmospheres. Overpowering in its proper conditions it may yet be dissipated by a gust of external air. The peasant, sure in his own limits and working in them with rare certainty and taste, is soon confused by new things or by an art outside of his experience. Before the romance of manufactured goods his sense of fitness fails. The beauty of the unusual is confounded with the beauty of the natural, and from the mixture all values disappear; taste, art impulse, sense

of unity, tenets of tradition fade away and in a short while exist no longer. To try to preserve these alive by preaching is as hopeless as catching the mist in a bag. And so the sensible things that had found asylum with the mob in the end are banished from it also and rest disconsolate in echoing and chill museums, tombstones of dead glories, stripped of a half of their proper charms because reft from their natural milieu. Yet even so what satisfaction they contain.

Is it necessary to be critically persuasive about the beauty and interest of these Ruthenian Sub-Carpathian designs? We must beware of a facile admiration for a thing merely because, though ancient, it is novel. We may blame the peasant for greedily accepting the romance of the manufactured novelty but the same danger always haunts us. Amongst the tumult of modern art clamours, amongst the flood into the world of art of all manners and varieties of aesthetic effort, from those of the prehistoric men to those of post-impressionism, no standards — once prized — are left. We can no longer come to art with authority, we must find our own way through the chaos. The past is not always beautiful any more than the most recent is always ugly. Yet it is safe to assume that anything which embodies the life effort of an undisturbed and simple folk is beautiful, some necessarily in a higher degree than others; and we accept these Ruthenian examples from a little known and hitherto unstudied portion of Europe, — now in Czechoslovakia — with wonder and delight.

An art of this nature has definitely two aims, the first that of utility, the second that of decoration. In a religious piece, such as this strange and poignant Hucul cross, the utility becomes of necessity description. But as the description is clear and straightforward the artist can expend the larger part of his genius on the embellishment of the work. His descriptive aim is to tell the fact of the crucifixion or to portray the Blessed Virgin and Child. His figures however can become mere symbols as long as they are traditionally understood by all, so that in the end he will indicate the supernumerary Apostles around the cross with mere strokes of the chisel. The description becomes a pictorial shorthand for those who can read it. So that the artist, from that on, follows his natural human impulse, the impulse to make pattern — in reality an artistic desire much more innate than that one of representing nature which has been held up as the salvation of the plastic arts. The descriptive intention here however controls the patterning instinct and so gives the logical coherence to these noble carvings.

On the wooden implements of the peasant's every-day need the control of utility is more strongly marked. Pattern is decoration, beautiful decoration added to beautiful design. Shapes grow out of use and perfect themselves under the impulse of the more genial of the craftsmen. Looking at these beautiful and natural shapes, considering the refinement and often restraint

of patterns, one must wonder and mourn that men had so much talent to conceive and so little power to retain, one must deplore the fact that the power to produce such art can be dissipated in comparatively few years by the importation of mechanically made vulgarities. Consider the wooden spoon on Fig. 12. Was it the work of a genius or merely the natural carving of some farmer with a few winter afternoons upon his hands?

This little segregated folk has stamped everything it touches with a sense of natural but powerful beauty, from its Easter eggs to its churches. In this regard the author of this book has noted a strange connection between the Sub-Carpathian art and that of Scandinavia. The resemblance between the embroideries is obvious, and I have seen churches in Norway and Sweden which are almost identical with those pictured on Figs. 39 and 40. Again, the two pottery dishes with animals on Fig. 48 might have issued from the hands of Sevillian peasant potters. The artist of to-day seems to be weeping for new worlds to conquer, but these Ruthenian peasant craftsmen illustrate how but one shape, the rhomboid, is capable of endless variations and extensions. Yes! How easy art is. How easy it is if you are working for the people, and how difficult it is if you are working for the public. "The public and the people" says Melville "Aye, my lads, let us hate the one and cleave to the other". But what can we do? . . . To-day we see the people becoming the public under our hands.

Rather, how easy art was. Like wheat, drop it into the soil, leave it undisturbed and it comes springing up a hundred-fold. So it was in these peasant cultures. But for us to-day the soil is turned over once a week. It must indeed be a terrific hardy seedling that can come to fruition.



INTRODUCTION

The occasion for this work was an exhibition held in Prague of the "Art and Life of Sub-Carpathian Russia", which was arranged in 1924 by the educational section of the Užhorod Municipal Council. In collecting objects for this exhibition in my capacity of Director and "expert on peasant art" I became acquainted with Sub-Carpathian Russian artistic folklore; from Nova Stučnice, the extreme north-west point of the "Vrkhovina" (a mountainous region bordering on Poland to the north and stretching southward as far as the valleys of Marmaroš to the chief village of the "Huculs", Jasina, whose wattled hedges and shingle-roofed huts extend to the eastern frontier of Galicia).

In searching for anything which could conceivably be classified under the heading of "peasant art" I journeyed about this area for more than six months, passing from one village to another along the banks of the sinuous streams which flow down into the river Tisa. Most of the time I went on foot; the railway crosses the country only in one direction, if we except a few narrow gauge lines running for a short distance only. Apart from that, here, as everywhere, local artistic colour recedes from the proximity of the rails — isolated dwellings and settlements, nestling in the foothills of the Carpathians in the heart of primeval forests, are the best repositories of the traditional art.

In an introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition I described its aims in the following words: "Hand in hand with the scientific-educational object of collecting materials for a museum which shall later give a systematic picture of the whole range of peasant industry in Sub-Carpathian Russia goes the desire to popularize the best productions of the peasant artists and to awaken in wide circles an interest in a nation which has preserved through centuries its traditional customs and artistic conventions".

It seems to me that this also is the principal aim of this book, which is being produced by a Russian publishing company in Prague.

Is it necessary to add that even then, when compiling the catalogue of the exhibition, in drawing attention to science, education, popularization, I naturally had in mind the high artistic value of Sub-Carpathian Russian folklore? But to set a great value on the work produced in the villages, does not this also signify a recognition of its effectiveness, its capacity, however archaic a character it may seem to have, to fertilize the culture of the towns? For peasant art in essence, before it has been relegated to museums, peasant art which continues to develop day by day, is a living force. In our times such art is not only an anachronism but really a contemporary delight, an oasis of enchanting barbarism, with gushing

springs, in the midst of the quick-sands of factory civilization. The beauty of the village is nourished by the cathedral-like spirit of the nation. It is the fruit of the labours of countless artists, united through a common tradition, a fruit which has been handed on from generation to generation from immemorial times. Is not this a wholesome well-spring of art that can be drawn upon by the towns, which have become dried up through the commonplaceness of bourgeois routine or whose culture — the other extreme — suffers from indulgence in wild fancies? Consequently it is not going too far to assert that the “opening up” of the Sub-Carpathian Russian village may to a certain extent exercise an influence on contemporary decorative art, or in any case reinforce the good taste of the sensitive spectator.

Genuine peasant art is as remote as possible from the commonplace. In spite of its canonical stagnation it delights by the superiority of the delicacies and variety which it exhibits. It is never vulgar, since it is produced from the fullness of the national heart and warmed always by creative feeling, no matter to what extent it continues to repeat ancient designs. Herein lies its fascination; it combines collective custom with the uniqueness of original productions; it is not individualized in the sense in which we use the term in the towns but at the same time it has the impress of personality. The definite “label” of the village does not exclude a certain freedom of execution. On the contrary, just through freedom there is obtained an incomparable charm. Every time the same, but yet something subtly different. Peasant art is bound, as no other type of art is bound, by the decrees of custom, the inertia of the peasant soul and, again like no other, captivates through its almost imperceptible variations, never making a mechanical copy, never being produced in a soulless *format*; a handicraft remains an art. The village handworker, making the same thing for the hundredth or thousandth time, still continues to a certain extent to improvise like the real artist. In his workmanship, crude though it may be, and even though to a laughable extent it may imitate the productions of his craftsmen forefathers, one always feels the living imagination of its creator.

In the course of wandering over Sub-Carpathian Russia I saw thousands of embroideries on the blouses of the peasants and made a collection of them which included several patterns from each village, but on not one single occasion did I discover two pairs of exactly similar “naplečniki” or two identical “faranetliki” (the embroidered front of a peasant blouse). In every case something slightly different. The same plan but always variety, numberless variations on the traditional theme: here an added scroll, there a double line of little crosses, a broadened or narrowed band at the edge of the pattern. Even the patterns of sheets are almost always individual in this sense, although rendered mechanical through the technicalities of the process of manufacture — the weavers at times are capable of improvising as successfully as the embroiderers.

The amazing inventiveness of the craftsman . . . would it not be more true to say his immediacy? Invention implies a conscious motive: “I will try to do it not in that way, but in this way, anew”. The peasant woman, in sewing a scarf, or the potter, tracing the figures of carnations upon an earthenware vessel, although they may be credited with the desire to make something new, cannot be said to have originated all the individual variations of peasant art; it is more a question of the unconscious will to create (comparable to the

phantasy of children) of the village craftsman projecting himself, his naive feelings, his nearness to nature, with its frightening and fascinating manifestations, into this long serrated "krivulka", into the quilting of this cloth with a pattern of rams' horns of spreading fern-like tracery.

Who can describe the dreaminess of the Carpathian betrothed maiden as she sits sewing at the window of the snow-bound hut during the long winter evenings? What enchanted woods do not present themselves to her inner eye, what sad and happy secret thoughts do not come into her head as she bends over the pattern which is growing beneath her fingers! This is why this work affects us, apart from the pride of the worker and apart from the knowledge which belongs to a heart which is full of life. And this, again, is why such work never becomes stereotyped, even when it is produced for the market and not for domestic use.

The relation of the craftsman to his work also serves to explain other qualities of these objects, made with rough village hands: the technical solidity, the appropriateness of the treatment to the material, the fitness to the end to be served. These two qualities are so closely associated that they cannot be thought of apart. For creative immediacy within the limitations of an age-long tradition necessarily results in solidity and good work. Is anything but good quality to be expected in an object which has been constructed on the plan of hundreds of similar ones, especially when it is destined for use in the house of its maker? Can there be anything but solidity in a thing which embodies so many hours of emotional life? Cleverness belongs to the town, solidity to the village and the dexterity and strength of peasant hands can impress one far more than the cleverness brought by cultural enlightenment. The technician of the village uses for the most part the most simple apparatus, but what astounding experience does he not display! There is nothing hurried about his methods, which echo the slow march of the centuries. The craftsman is not concerned with the time element. Haste and carelessness begin with mass production — even of handicrafts — and this is the curse of the towns. In the villages, where time passes more slowly than in the towns, there is time enough; the idea of quickly gained profit does not overshadow the joy of work which is finished down to the finest, "unnecessary" details. Peasant art attracts as much by this meticulous workmanship as by its fine solidity. Both spring from generosity of heart, extensive leisure and, finally, prudence; is it worth while scamping it? The peasants derive greater satisfaction from attaining a standard of work in which there is strength, reliability and no flaws which offend the eye.

But the construction of an object which is meant to last implies the selection of good material. Strength depends in part on the relation between the material and the form. And the appropriateness of the object is a further condition of its strength. Beauty has its own logic, adapting the art to the material, making for solidity and fitness. Peasant art even in this respect is always a lesson in taste. Its forms have a living sense. Nothing is done for the sake of effect, nothing is done which is unnecessary. If excess in decoration and even ugly disproportion are to be found, this must be attributed to the peasant's *entourage*, his beliefs, superstitions, experiences which have deeply impressed him, some remote historical cause. Generally speaking, peasant art tends towards proportion and simplicity.

These qualities must be granted to Sub-Carpathian Russian folklore, which becomes

interesting and not merely "ethnographically" so. In the course of collecting specimens for the Prague Exhibition and subsequently for the present work I regarded myself as being determined by aesthetic considerations, ethnography only assisting me in so far as it opened up new fields of beauty. Are not the crafts of Sub-Carpathian Russia, the beauty of her embroideries, fabrics and carvings, as well as her legends, songs and fables buried treasure?

Buried in the sense that up to the present they have hardly been investigated at all, either from the ethnographical or from the historical-artistic point of view. One can say that a scientific literature on the subject does not exist. Attempts have been made, but they have either never been brought to a conclusion (by Hungarian folklorists, who are the best informed in the matter) or they have a dilettante character. A good deal has been written about the Carpathian wooden churches, much of it, it must be said, of a superficial nature, but that is practically all. A few Czech and Ukrainian artists have shown an interest in domestic articles and carvings, but the notes they have made on the subject appear to have aroused no attention. No systematic description of dresses and decorations, arranged according to districts, has so far appeared in print (except a valuable short study by M. Tumova). Finally the embroideries and woven fabrics which are so characteristic of Sub-Carpathian Russia have never been properly classified and the important question of their ultimate origin, regarded in conjunction with the undoubted eastern one of all Russian decorations, has never been cleared up.

The "Russian style" of Sub-Carpathian Russia, however, the style, generally speaking of the costumes and embroidered designs, has deep roots and this in spite of all its more or less evident borrowings from neighbours (some of them quite recent) and in spite, also, of various historical accretions and imported fashions. The deep roots to which I refer are those which go back into an ancient soil from which all Slavonic folklore has grown.

An interesting problem. It is a question of discovering the direction in which the path of this tradition of ornament, so dear to the Russian soul, and which at the same time speaks of the striped linen of the East, ancient empires, the influx of Asiatic hordes, may be expected to lead. Whither? Not to Magyar conquerors of a thousand years ago; the borrowings from them are patent, but the most significant features in the ornament are those which are not derived from the Magyars. To the waggons of the nomads who struck Europe with horror in the middle ages? To the Parthians or Sarmatians, perhaps, as M. Weiss, the author of the well-known "Kostümkunde" still thinks, to the banks of the Tanais, the Tiras, Lower Istra, to martial Alania, to the Scythian plains where, long before the advent of the Goths, Huns, Chazars, Ugrians and Tatars, the Slavonic tribes mixed with the Finns who at that time were settled over a vast region stretching from the Baltic and White Seas to the source of the Dnieper? Do not they lead further into the legendary East, along the slopes of the Carpathians to the Black Sea, to the motherland of the Caucasians and via the Kirghiz steppes into Central Asia and thence to the cradle of peoples, through the door of the great migrations, into the expanses of Iran, India, Tibet and Mongolia?

This question of the ancient source of this ornament is a very complicated one and scarcely soluble in the present state of the ethnography of art. Not only the out-of-the-way area of Sub-Carpathian Russia, but all the territory occupied by the Western Slavs (Galicia,



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the Bukovina, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Czechoslovakia etc., has been insufficiently investigated. All this enormous amount of material should be classified and compared with that relating to the villages of Great and Little Russia. Only in this way will it be possible to find out something about these roots in the distant past. The origins of the past of the Sub-Carpathian Russian people are allied to the origins of the culture constituted by their art and way of life. But the time for answering these questions has not yet arrived. A large amount of detailed preparatory work is necessary before the material which has been accumulated can be viewed in a proper historical perspective. The theory put forward in his time by V. V. Stasov regarding the Finno-Persian origin of Russian ornament cannot be yet regarded as fully substantiated.

The present work is concerned with the publication of a certain amount of material, but material which has only been systematized to a certain extent. In arranging the Prague Exhibition the objects which had been collected were classified according to geographical regions, agreeing with the characteristic varieties of Sub-Carpathian Russian art etc.

If the boundaries of these areas, which do not, of course, exist on the map, do not exactly agree with those on an ideal ethnographical-art map of the country (which has yet to be made), and, further, do not correspond with the racial areas in the country, they do coincide with the distribution of the art forms. And the ethnological variations are not really significant in a given case. Much more important are geographic and climatic influences and the extent of individualization in relation to neighbouring units.

Embroideries and particular portions of dress vary strikingly according to the district and even according to the village, a fact which will become comprehensible if it is remembered that costume is more closely associated with locality than, for example, carving or ceramics. The plates made by the Hucul craftsmen adorn the peasant dwellings over almost all the Vrkhovina, the Hucul wooden cross may be found in the church of almost any parish, but some small variation in sewing or in the pattern on a shirt will astonish a woman from another village where another type of design has been the fashion from countless ages.

The embroideries which are reproduced here were collected by me from among thousands of variations and contain typical examples from the various regions. I have, however, excluded designs which are clearly non-indigenous, so that whole areas in which older themes have been almost completely dislodged by others from Slovakia, Hungary and Roumania are not represented at all.

Four main regions must be differentiated, with their corresponding embroideries. First comes the Vrkhovina with its special "cross", with patterns in which red, blue and black threads predominate. The Vrkhovina stretches along the Polish frontier and the upper reaches of the rivers Už, Latorice and Vič to Soima; the inhabitants of the frontier region are known as "Boiki", those of the upper reaches of the rivers as "Lemki". It is the most poor, barren, and generally culturally backward region in the country. Everywhere huts without chimneys, people and animals living together separated only by a partition which does not reach to the ceiling; for food oat bread or cakes; clothes of roughly worked hemp. There are less poor areas, but none so typical. The women usually wear a short blouse with

a slanting collar and a skirt and the men wear their shirts thrust into their pants. The women's caps, a relic of an earlier type, are characteristic.

The valley of the river Turia furnishes a rather different type of embroidery with characteristic black patterns, coloured spots and variations in the sewing; the cross is modified by stitches of white thread ("opletačka"), indentures, flat stitching. The edging of the short woman's blouse is also different. The "Turian" embroidery is particularly simple in style; in several villages the sleeves and the collars of the blouses, especially of the men's, are treated very plainly. A similar type of embroidery, but still more simple with a blue pattern on a white ground is to be seen on the men's shirts as far as Marmaroš.

In the Turia region the peasantry are in better circumstances than in the Vrkhovina; in comparison with the highlanders they appear positively rich. This state of things is reflected in their home industries. These are now having to give place to those of the towns, but until quite recently the area was famous for its peasant weaving and carving. The tradition of artistic carving is preserved to this day and it is sufficient to go into a few huts to see cupboards, tables, spoons, spinning-wheels and various other objects, all of which are decorated with unpretentious but genuine ornamentation.

To the south of the valley of the Turia are a number of places where the peasant culture is already a thing of the past. The population has become mixed and Slovakian-Polish and neo-Hungarian influences have obliterated the original cultural face of the country. Where embroidery is preserved it has degenerated into narrow open-work of a pattern often copied from a book. These designs are sometimes not devoid of charm, but they do not, like the others, recall the ancient ones. There remain a few oases where magnificent weaving is still to be found, but for the most part even in these the designs show the vulgar influence of Magyar and Roumanian ones; the rich red stripes are mixed with green, blue or yellow. The effects produced have little in common with those of the traditional geometrically severe patterns.

The third area, having the third type of embroidery, begins in Volovoje and stretches to the south to the plains of Marmaroš, where is to be found the village of Iza, the centre in the country of the Orthodox faith. For the sake of simplicity I shall refer to the area, as that of Marmaroš. In this territory the "cross" form of embroidery is not so common as a particular kind of seam, which is referred to by the peasants as "simple". The pattern is sewn with cotton threads or with wool reversed, producing a smooth pattern which stands out very sharply from the fabric. The right side shows a surface which is almost smooth (though in some variations rougher owing to the thickness of the wool) and generally of one colour; the outline of these patterns cannot be discerned at a distance. The size and shape of these embroideries vary from village to village. Thus in one village we see large squares almost the whole length of the sleeves of the women's blouses while in another there are narrow longitudinal stripes on the sleeves and seams with a cross in the middle etc. The girls' dresses are bright with continuous spots which are sometimes successfully replaced by woven patterns.

The quality of brightness is characteristic of the whole fertile area of Marmaroš, filled with sunflowers and maize. The women are gay with coloured shawls and leather

waistcoats and the young girls tastefully adorn their heads with ribbons and wreaths. Silk is worn and narrow necklaces of glass beads are to be seen. These necklaces, which everywhere are very similar in appearance, are to be discovered almost all over the area. They are especially attractive in the villages in the valley of the Terešva.

Finally another type of embroidery is to be found among the Huculs, who are neighbours of the Galician Huculs the other side of the Carpathians. In this region is to be found the most delightful ornamentation, often recalling in its eastern beauty not only the Russo-Finnish embossed patterns but also the designs on Caucasian carpets.

It is thought that these heavy embroideries — a small “cross” and a special smoothness produced by the reversed thread, mixed with “half crosses” and other close stitches — are derived from designs on very ancient fabrics. There is reason to believe that among these designs are to be discovered those which served as the original models for the Sub-Carpathian Russian patterns, for with all their numerous variations they conform to one geometrical type. I will deal with this question again later, although I shall not attempt to offer a solution of the problem. I will only remark that in my opinion other very simple, almost elementary, designs to be found in the Vrkhovina never prove to be primitive and that on the contrary the complicated weaving of the patterns of various embroideries from the Hucul area appear to be nearer to the original design which inspired the multifarious variations. The population of the north, poorer in every respect, simplified the style of the designs. A decorative reduction took place, which produced a number of charming effects. This does not alter the fact that the wild northern highland area has preserved certain primitive elements better than the impressionable and mobile south.

However it may be, the Hucul area, the picturesque southeastern corner of Sub-Carpathian Russia, adjacent to Polish Galicia and the Roumanian Bukovina, is worth special study. In cultural respects it is extremely near to the Hucul area in Galicia. In the upper reaches of the Tisa, on the Czechoslovak side of the Polish frontier, we find the same way of life and the same preferences in decoration as on the other; the same weaving, carving and Russian type of clothing — long women's blouses, a special type of skirt and for the men trousers that are wide at the top and shirts with a sash. However we may decide the question of the ethnological position of these Sub-Carpathian highlanders (they themselves dislike the name “Hucul” which is applied to their undersized horses), it cannot be doubted that they are the descendants of people having the same culture as the Galicians. The differences in culture which they exhibit is partly due to the greater artistic productivity the other side of the mountains.

These considerations have lead me to include in the present work some illustrations of objects from Galicia which, emanating from museums in Prague, were shown at the Prague Exhibition; a series of wooden altar crosses, bronze powder horns, tastefully engraved, ingeniously designed axes (“kelevi”) and some pottery obtained from Yaroslav, Mikolaev or Galicia. Galicia has long been famous for its potters. At the time when the influence of the Magyar factories in Hungarian Ruthenia became strong those craftsmen who were not under their influence remained at the stage of making simple unglazed objects out of clay. The ancient Galician vessels, which are still to be found in the peasants' huts along the banks

of the Tisa, serve splendidly to complete the picture of the arts and crafts of the Hucul area.

Nevertheless, the pottery of all these centres is illustrated in this book. The hand of the craftsman, even when he is dealing with a borrowed theme, as in this case with that of irises or tulips, unconsciously impresses a local stamp on his work. The original Hungarian pottery has not the same naive quality about it, nor are the colours so lasting, although the forms sometimes recall those of the East.

After the embroideries of the Hucul region which, it may be remarked, are in no way inferior to those of Galicia (some, indeed from Jasina reveal a more refined taste), the most interesting objects are those worked in wood. It is true that the modern ones are not the best. At the present time even here carving is more of a tradition from the past than a living craft and it is only with difficulty that carved flasks, spoons, spinning-wheels etc. with burned-in ornamentation can now be found in even old-fashioned households. But the tradition is not yet dead; splendid examples of carving and ornamentation can still be discovered about the villages and the very shapes of these objects reveal the nobility of this tradition, although they may be nothing more than vessels to contain Easter loaves.

I have attempted in this introduction to give a general review of the material published in this work, after which I propose to describe in detail the different departments of peasant art. I have divided the book into four sections: carving; ceramics; costume and personal decoration; and embroidery and weaving. I have only touched lightly upon the wooden churches; their decoration is to a great extent a secondary manifestation and less important from an ethnographical point of view. Finally, even in the sphere of ecclesiastical architecture the same individual style is revealed as in everything else produced by the village, but one must not give too much importance to local colour or local borrowings.





C A R V I N G

A large part of Sub-Carpathian Russia — everywhere in the uplands — is wooded. The Vrkhovina is covered with woods almost continuously, save where they are varied by pasture land. There are a fair number of meadows along the banks of the rivers Už and Latorice, but the further we go to the east the more impenetrable become the woods and from Vyšní Sinivir onwards there are great expanses which are completely uninhabited and thickly covered with pines. This region extends right up to the Polish frontier on the north, and to the south as far as the upper reaches of the Tisa, where the Hucul wood industry begins.

The chief occupation of the Hucul, besides sheep-breeding, is that of floating down the rivers rafts which have been made during the winter of enormous beams. This industry has been developed comparatively recently; since the construction of large reservoirs at the source of the Black Tisa, which enable the level of the rapidly flowing water of the river to be raised for the duration of some hours. It is not for nothing that from time immemorial the axe has been the emblem of the Huculs and the subject of their ancient songs. Although they never before had any wood industry of the type which is now developed in the neighbourhood of Jasina, they have always been dwellers in the forests. Moreover through the freedom which they have enjoyed they have always had enough leisure for art. Through not being agricultural they never became serfs. They lived in good circumstances and had no masters. They bred sheep which provided them with nourishment and warm clothing, and built their huts on the slopes of the mountains and in the valleys; if they sowed at all it was in their gardens and their free time, of which they had much in winter, was devoted to home industries. This side of the Polish frontier the Hucul peasant art, as has been said, flourished greatly, while wood, naturally enough, became the chief material which was worked upon.

There is splendid wood in this area. The powerful, ancient oak with its black bark and gleaming foliage, the spreading willow, the abundant alder, the leafy beech and yoke-elm, swaying in the wind, the willow nearer the water, the ash, wild pear, apple and plum trees, the poplar, more rare, the maple and finally the typical tree of the Hucul country, the plane tree with its hard, smooth, non-porous surface, which acquires a beautiful dark colour with age. Further up in the hills there are coniferous trees: firs, pines, both green and blue, with resinous bark and larches and spruces, some of them more than two hundred years old. How could the art of the carver help developing in the midst of this abundance of material?

Wood carving has been the domestic trade of the Huculs for a long period. There are icons from the XVIIth century with plainly carved crosses on beech boards. Altar crosses

of about the same period are also known. A similar cross in an incomplete condition is represented in Figure 1, Unfortunately I have no time to stop and discuss this interesting product of peasant talent or various other similar ones, the best of which was a large example found by myself in Jasina and dated 1758. Even at this period the form is not a local one; the figure of the four pointed orthodox cross with projections at the ends has been borrowed from elsewhere. But the charm of the wooden construction and the feeling with which the craftsman has performed his task, the undeniable taste revealed by him in simplifying the details of the original, cannot be resisted. The typical Hucul forms of decoration are already evident: the frames consist of strips which are adorned with pictures (the Crucifixion, the Baptism, St. Luke, Cherubim, the Saviour with the Bible).

It is to be noted that these or very similar themes are to be found throughout the Slavonic world—in the designs of the Great Russians, Serbians, Czecho-Moravians and in those from Zakopany. These decorative strips are repeated about a hundred years later on the Jasina cross of 1758 (Figs. 2 & 3). We see the lightning-shaped strip beneath the Crucifixion repeated at the back, above the Mother and Child, another ornament in more simple form (round the figure of Christ) combining these two, and finally two rows of little "teeth". This cross, splendid in its primitive simplicity, has a design which already bears the local impress; it has eight points or, to be precise, seven, since there is no projection above the cross-piece at the top. Some crosses from the Náprstkovo Museum in Prague have the same ornamentation; one bears no date and the other two are dated 1827 and 1841 respectively. The last has an original form: a large figure of the crucified Christ in the centre and at the sides smaller figures with those of the thieves added, resting on a light cross-piece. (Figures 4, 5 & 8). Two other crosses resemble these first ones in their general style, although they are not ornamented; one carved at the end of the XVIII century and another much later (Figures 6 & 7). The age of such examples is judged better from the weight and condition of the wood than from stylistic details which over a period of nearly two hundred years have remained unchanged.

Here we have the conservatism of the village! For two hundred years the same design was passed on unmodified; the same representations of the crucified Christ and the Virgin Mary against a background filled by the apostles standing in a circle (to be exact only one figure is represented on each side, the others being shown by vertical furrows), the same simplification of anatomy and the conversion of the lettering on the horizontal cross-piece into ornament (it rarely stands for anything), the continued use of the same simple tool, the short peasant's knife, his inevitable aid in all sorts of emergencies in life. And just as with the peasant embroideries, so with the crosses, never have two identical crosses been made. Each has its own "soul". This is the product of art in the full sense of the term. One collects them as unique objects.

The Hucul crosses have now become rarities. But there are still no small number of them in the churches of Sub-Carpathian Russia. The most beautiful which I have been permitted to see were those which have been preserved in the wooden churches of Jasina. I have no doubt that most of them emanate from Galicia. But it is not at all impossible that such crosses were formerly made in the upper reaches of the Tisa. The tradition of carving has not completely disappeared in that area even to-day. In many huts some distance from the main

road you may find plates, jugs, chests and spinning-wheels with carved designs and there are still Huculs who are capable of constructing these things with the same decoration as the old ones. More than once I have been struck with the extraordinary talent of the peasant, his innate taste and technical skill. Even up to a short time ago there were living and working veritable virtuosos in this field.

Only a year before the war there died in a small village near Jasina a carver of the name of Yuriy Mikhalčuk whose speciality was the manufacture of wooden flasks, small ones holding half a litre and large ones holding two litres, single and double in type and decorated with carving. The wood he used was that of the plane tree, firm and hard. He carved magnificently, never splitting the wood. His carving was shallow, not sharp, and done with a short knife and a chisel with a half-moon-shaped blade. His decorative patterns were extraordinarily simple and repeat themselves on all the flasks made by him and other carvers of his school: a stripe, straight or curved, of half-moons cut with this little chisel. Two stripes, one opposite the other and divided by a furrow, form a sort of knotted ribbon which is in conformity with the whole style of the object. The Jasina master arranged these different ribbons in various ways on the rounded surface of his flasks; at one time in close concentric circles in rows of four and five, at another in little circles, in rows of one and two, in an effect which recalled the sunflower, and in the form of half circles as illustrated in Figure 10 *c—d*. The flask itself was hollowed out and had thin bands round it; they were put on wet and in drying afterwards clasped the vessel firmly, thus preventing it from splitting. The double form of flasks rest directly on hoops at the bottom (Figure 11). To the round single one four little legs were very cleverly attached, and in this way: under the rim between the bands were two carved ribbons of the type which has been described and each pair of them opens out at the bottom into paws with two legs (Figure 13 *a*).

Yuriy Mikhalčuk was not the first to develop this form of decoration; he probably had no small number of predecessors. Both in age and individual style there are considerable differences between the Jasina flasks. In execution the oldest are the most beautiful. As far as the general shape is concerned, this has been borrowed from elsewhere. One can easily convince oneself of this by comparing these flasks with others which are more curved in shape, almost circular in fact, of smooth manufacture and made on a lathe, which may also be found in Jasina (Figure 10 *a—b*), though clearly of extraneous origin. Through their eastern form they carry us back to very distant times. The Hungarian call them “kulochs” and “čobans” (which in Tatar means “shepherd”). I have heard of similar flasks, some of them not so rounded, with gold patterns from Transylvania, which exactly resemble the leather “kulochs”, stamped with gold, of Hungarian workmanship. They probably served as the original models for the objects from Jasina.

In the villages one hears of the existence of many carvers. But it is not easy to see their productions. Even if they have been preserved they are dispersed about the mountain huts and it would take years to search them out. Near the village of “Black” Tisa (adjacent to Jasina), at a spot in the mountains known as “White Cross” in the hut of a very old woman I came upon the most interesting wooden bedstead, decorated with carving. In another place I found a number of wooden spoons with typical Hucul ornamentation; one of them

is reproduced in Figure 12 under "b". Here we have tiny triangles and lozenges, cut with a small knife, taking the form of sharp-toothed bands, the edge of the spoon being beautifully shaded with this delicate fluted design. The wood itself is extraordinarily beautiful, with warm red colouring as if burnt and very smooth to the touch. This is the result of the maple-wood having been polished with olive oil a long time before, and in order to make the pattern stand out more clearly fine powdered charcoal is rubbed into it and adheres so strongly that it is not to be washed off. The owner of these objects told me proudly that they were all made by her late husband. Of native origin was also an originally constructed comb for wool, with a hand wheel, found by me in the neighbourhood and a number of plates and jugs of the types still preserved in the older households.

But it is more common to come across a form the design on which is not carved but burnt in with an iron instrument. To this type belong the vessels portrayed in Figure 13b. I got together a whole collection of flasks of different dimensions which were ornamented in this manner. And it must be said that even this simple type of ornament is not devoid of charm; the arrangement of the triangles, crosses, little stars, circles, traditional six-petalled roses, which are disposed in a circle is sometimes extraordinarily tasteful. The stamp of the individuality of the craftsman is not less apparent than in objects which have been carved; although the decorative elements are poor the combinations made of them are numberless, each example being unique. It is evident that up to quite recently there was a great demand for wood ornamented in this fashion. There is still alive an old man of the name of Ivan Markulček who every week takes to the market at Jasina a vessel ornamented in this way which he has made himself at home in his wretched hut. Of late his designs have become coarse, his taste having been spoilt by contact with the dealers in the market, but I have seen some of his earlier work about the huts; drinking jugs, milk pails etc., showing that Markulček had followed an artistic tradition (see Figure 14). This tradition has preserved itself better than anywhere in Kossovska Poljana, whence come the beautifully formed "paskovtsi" shown in Figure 35 and the milk churn and spinning-wheel depicted in Figure 9. This tradition of burned-in ornamentation is not scorned either by those Huculs who have served their apprenticeship in the town, like, for example Kurelo, who made the wooden maces with a handle in the form of an axe which are reproduced here and also the similar objects reproduced in Figure 15.

The Hucul maces are worth special investigation. They are the ancient emblems of the woodcutter. It is only a short time ago since the rod with a symbolical axe was for the Hucul what a sword was for the courtier. The symbolical axe is still preserved in wedding ceremonies; having knocked at the door of his betrothed with his mace the bridegroom hands it over to her brother (is this a vestigial form of marriage by capture?). "One cannot marry without a mace", they say in the village. The maces are handed on from family to family. They were originally made in metal with engraved designs (Figure 16). They are often very striking and decorative in form, resembling the real axes which the Huculs use to this day; broad or narrow with long blades, a form which recalls examples from the Bronze Age.

The bridegrooms in the Hucul area still have engraved symbolic axes, but I did not come across any metal objects used for other purposes of the type which may be found



IV a—c

on the other side of the Polish frontier: buckles, in the style of the kurgan "fibul", crosses worn on the neck dating from the same period, sometimes whole necklaces made out of crosses, awls, needle-cases, nut-crackers, powder-horns, wallets (Figures 17—22). The designs on these objects are similar to those which we see in the village but the form they take is partially conditioned by the material. They abound in decorative circles which are often concentric, arranged in series and recalling Neolithic volutes. All the familiar elements are there: "cicatrices", "ferns", "ears of corn", "plums", "curls", "wedges", etc. On the large objects, such as wallets and powder-horns, the six-petalled rose in a circle continually recurs. Here, on the one hand, we certainly have a kurgan element, perhaps from the Bronze Age, from reminiscences of "*La Tène*" culture, and on the other the plain influence of the Caucasus (Figure 16, *a* and *c*). Naturally borrowings of this type are more or less episodes, but is there not here nevertheless a general link with the East? Have not Asiatic themes been preserved from the remote past?

The example of the distant past had a contagious effect on the new renaissance of the Hucul wooden carving, which was inspired by the art of a whole family of Galician carvers — the Škryeblyakovs; the father, Yuriy, and his two sons. The beginning of the renaissance dates back to the middle of the last century when Yuriy, who had learnt the trade of a turner during his long service in the army, brought it with him to the Huculs. Having set up his own workshop, he began to turn vessels for meat, tumblers, flasks, boxes for tobacco etc., giving his objects a rather "town" form, but carefully adhering to the tradition of his forefathers. The decorative *motifs*, made fresh by the natural tradition, were worked out magnificently by him, a great variety of combinations being produced. It would seem that there are a large number of these primary *motifs*, but actually there are not more than ten. Škryeblyakov introduced special chisels for the work, manufactured with his own hand. At the same time his assistant, Marko Megedynuk, has the honour of having invented a special form of incrustation on wood with perforated coloured beads. The method of decoration was a new one which had not been used before. But it is easy to see in comparing the glasses reproduced in this work (Figure 23) with the metal objects with engraved designs and incrustation of mother-of-pearl that the beads pierced by Megedynuk with the help of an ordinary drill resemble the circles and wheels which are so favoured by the Hucul engravers.

The sons of Škryeblyakov followed the example of their father. The three of them together founded a unique type of home industry to the products of which one cannot deny national colouration and technical perfection. In its time the Austrian Government instituted two schools for the development of this industry, in one of which instruction was given by one of Škryebliakov's sons.

The Škryeblyakovs, perhaps, are not purely peasant, but their art was appreciated amongst the people, found followers and became a tradition; a convincing example of the way in which an individual gesture may become a collective one. Does not peasant art generally evolve in this manner? For one cannot deny to the village the capacity of following the old traditions with inspiration and that of assimilating new ones if, for some reason or other, it finds them sympathetic. Cannot one thus explain the extraordinarily rapid way

in which the native taste is corrupted by alien influences? But this corruption must not be identified with what I have described as the evolution of peasant art. For it is profoundly wrong to imagine that village industries are static and fixed in a definite form once for all. As a matter of fact, peasant art is characterized by a fluidity which is possessed by no other. Every production of the village, it may be said, is being continually created, varied a thousand times, multiplying throughout the years, always what it was before and at the same time something different, with some addition or other which may suddenly be adopted and definitely modify the prevailing style. The village, although it lives on its age-long tradition, nevertheless derives much from the present. The present can easily change the whole life of the village and its art as well. Is not this actually happening before our eyes? But in no cultural epoch was the culture of the town so despotic. Formerly it affected but did not destroy. In borrowing from the town completely alien themes the village industries continued to develop, preserving their own general character inherited from their forefathers and at the same time outwardly changing their aspect. This evolution can take another form; not that of enrichment through the acquisition of new elements (as in the case of the Škryeblyakovs) but, a reverse process, of simplification or coarsening of the form. But nevertheless coarsening does not necessarily signify in a given instance artistic effete-ness. Nothing of the sort. Having become simplified, coarser, more primitive under the influence of severe conditions of existence, of a comparatively lower standard of welfare of the population etc., the creation of the peasant often positively gains in naive and immediate charm.

The same process of reversed evolution is seen with other elements of Galician carving which have penetrated into the recesses of Sub-Carpathian Russia. If we compare with the fine Hucul products the work of villages like Volovec, Vyšní Roztoky, Rozvigov, Zborovec, illustrated in Figures 24 and 25, the coarsening of the form strikes the eye at once. We have before us a vessel very similar to those coming from Jasina and also made on a lathe, but more heavy, more rudimentary in its features and unornamented; another object very similar to a Jasina flask, but with an ungainly shape and the whole ornamentation consisting in six-pointed stars or roses arranged in concentric circles.

This type of ornamentation, which has already been referred to several times before, is found in many countries, both Slavonic (Russia, Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, the Bukovina) and non-Slavonic and if we trace it back through the ages it will lead us to ancient Assyria. But all this does not point to the designs having been borrowed but rather to the borrowing of the instrument with which it was made — the compass. This figure (Figure 24 *d*) is produced by making six circles which meet in a point which is in the middle of another circle having the same radius, the centres of these circles being equidistant from one another; all done, that is to say, by a compass. The instrument itself leads to the creation of the pattern of the six-petalled rose wherever, and at whatever period, it may be found. This applies also to the eight-pointed star.

This rose, which is sometimes without due foundation described as the "Slavonic sun" is constantly met with on pastoral birchbark pipes, on which the shepherds of the mountains sometimes play whole melodies — especially on carved productions in the villages along the valley of the Turia. It is also found on tables, cupboards and, rarely, on beds which

they have inherited from their forefathers. Sometimes there is no decoration; sometimes they are bordered with familiar forms of ornamentation: ears of corn, small crosses, small circles etc. The carving in the region of Užok, Lyubna, Kostrina in most instances is more primitive. Decoration is limited to toothed designs on spindles or spoons of domestic manufacture (Figure 27). Wooden reed pipes with six apertures, but unornamented (Figure 28) are met with everywhere.

On the Turia there are fewer peasants who do carving than there are on the Tisa. New objects are found more rarely, lightly decorated with a simple design. They are all for domestic use: salt-boxes, shelves for spoons, milk-pails, chests, rollers for linen, etc.

The form of these objects can be extremely individual; for example, large troughs for maize, full in shape, with four projecting segmental edges. Unfortunately I was unable to photograph these objects. But the elements of the ornamentation are somewhat similar to that of the distaffs shown in Figure 26; the spinning-wheels are provided with a shelf on which the manipulator sits. The spinning-wheel is covered with ornament from top to bottom, lightly carved so that the hemp may be laid on it easily.

The patterns on the spinning-wheel are of the most simple type. The ornamentation is a striking example of the way in which peasant art as it were generates itself. A vague desire to adorn the object induces the peasant to make with his knife, which is used for every purpose, these elementary notches and broken stripes on the wooden rod, parallels, sharp angles, star-shaped forms. But even here the instinctive, primitive decoration of the peasant is infused with the tradition of hundreds of years, which has not evolved by itself but has been taken over, together with the whole way of existence, the whole national culture, from a mysterious past. It is impossible to trace the influence of tradition in every detail, even in the most elementary ones; but it may be said that the greater part of these details are individual to a fair degree and that almost always stylistic analogies prove to be something more than casual coincidences. It is the same thing with the distaffs from Voročev. Their carving is elementary but at the same time by no means an affair of chance — it is so and not otherwise. It is associated with the Sub-Carpathian Russian, Galician, racial tradition generally. The patterns are disposed in the form of little belts separated one from another by spaces. The names for these patterns are often similar to those used in Galicia. But there are other patterns which I have not found on the Tisa: sharp angles meeting at a point, a pattern of grains of maize, and others. The similarity in the names given to them by the peasants points, in my opinion, to a common origin for the design. Certain forms, like those known as “krivulka” and “zubčiki”, although they appear to be widely distributed decorative emblems, are actually more ancient than this or that adaptation in a given place. In dealing later with embroideries I shall attempt to demonstrate this by means of a series of examples.

The manner of carving in the valley of the Turia is practically the same as that in the Hucul area. In both cases the carving is made on hard wood, is not deep as it is in Russia, where they cut on soft lime wood, and occasionally resembles flat engraving on wood done with instruments having small wheels for making scratches. The material used — plane-tree wood, ash, oak, pear — and the method of decorative treatment are very similar. Deep

carving on hard wood offers almost insuperable technical obstacles; hard wood is really unsuitable material for artistic work. On the other hand the simple style of the Turia ornamentation, its absence of richness, agrees very well with the character of the surfaces which are used and is, in effect, an expression of artistic taste.

In order to gain an idea of this carving the best thing is to examine the remarkable sketches of the architect A. Reikhr. The sketches show a large number of decorative details which have been preserved from the past in the churches, peasants' huts, store houses, on doors etc. in the valley of the Turia and in the neighbourhood of Jasina. More than revealing the nature of the architecture in sub-Carpathian Russia (of the churches for the most part) these details reveal the innate good taste of the population. This, perhaps, cannot be said of the majority of the wooden churches; they resemble the stone "Hungarian basilicas" of the banal baroque type which is seen everywhere in Catholic Europe.

But among the wooden churches of Sub-Carpathian Russia there are some which are the inspiration of the native soil, delighting one with their national character and at the same time with their relation to the orthodox churches of Great and Little Russia. Such are the churches of Jasina, which are supposed to be the oldest, the ground-plan of which is in the form of a cross, and which are adorned with small cupolas of the Moscow type, of which there are examples enough in Galicia. Then there are the churches of Užok, Kostrina, Nižni-Studený built pagoda-like in three tiers. Thirdly there are churches of almost the same type but with a trace of the baroque in their style, such as are to be found in Sol, along the river Turia, in Obava and several other places. Less national in style are the churches the architecture of which shows the influence of "fortress" gothic, as in Danilov, Sandrovo, Saldobos etc. And even those churches whose style embodies features copied, perhaps uncouthly, from the Charles Bridge and Powder Tower in Prague, show not only the borrowing but also the peculiar modifications in accordance with local tastes. Nevertheless this architecture shows the influence of racial tradition; one forgets about baroque and gothic and thinks of the wooden edifices of Russia. We know of many similar churches expressing the same national spirit both in the South and in the North of Russia — in Volynia, in the Government of Kiev and in those of Kostroma, Novgorod and Archangel. Several of them as regards plan, the form of the shingled roof, the gilt domes etc., are almost identical with those of Sub-Carpathian Russia. The resemblance, of course, is explained by the similarity of the material employed and of the extremely simple methods of architecture.

In essence the style of all these churches, whatever types they may recall, especially by their various external ornamentations, can be described as of the "izba" (peasant hut) type. The characteristic feature of the style is a rectangular framework a beam or half a beam in length. The framework of the building is erected directly on the levelled ground without any foundations being laid. The beams are arranged longitudinally and joined by swallow-tailing. When each side of this framework is extended, a similar framework being added to each, a five-roomed building resembling a cross is obtained, of the type seen in the churches of Jasina (Figure 40). Three low frameworks with smaller ones at the side arranged on the same axis give another characteristic form, the "Vrkhovina" three-roomed type. In order from this to obtain the type of St. Michael's church at Užok a second tier has to be added,



a lofty belfry at the front, and frames arranged like a Chinese pagoda above the centre of the church and over the altar. Then it is only necessary to crown the building with octagonal or quadrangular shingled roofs, cover all the projections with similarly shingled roofs and to extend the bottom roof, supporting it by pillars to form a veranda on three sides of the church. Similar sort of shingled roofing is found everywhere on the farm sheds and over the way-side shrines, which sometimes are ornamented with lofty crucifixes, as for instance at Iršava (Figure 37).

The churches of the Vrkhovina style are extremely picturesque and fascinatingly primitive. But apart from that they furnish rare examples of purely constructed architecture, free from any superfluous element. There are only a few examples of this altogether in Sub-Carpathian Russia. But this izba-like style of architecture is preserved by many churches which are otherwise built with a baroque or gothic admixture. If we substitute for the simple quadrangular roof over the belfry of the church at Užok, a lofty covering of the baroque type with fantastic domes, leaving the rest untouched, then we shall obtain, approximately of course, the churches of Obava and Plocek. And adding to these decorative details further baroque elements (e. g. a belfry disproportional in height to the rest of the church) we shall approach to the style of the church at Šelestov (Figure 39). The basilika-like churches with a barn-like roof often preserve this triple-aisled foundation. This certainly reveals the dependence of the form on the material and technique of building. Building using simple framework does not demand technical subtleties—all that is needed is an axe. All wooden buildings erected in this elementary manner are as a rule built according to the plan roughly outlined above. There have thus been combined: the Russian "izba" and the Hungarian church of the baroque type; the Russian "izba" with an "Empire" front, the Russian "izba" and the medieval military tower with a gallery on the outside for the watchman, with four "curtains" at the corners and a lofty lance-like spire (Figure 38a).

The artistic taste of the village is also undoubtedly expressed in the internal decoration of the churches in Sub-Carpathian Russia although neither the modern and ancient icons (the latter recall the coarse ones of Serbia), the occasional decorative painting, the iconostasis, nor the furniture of the church can be considered as products of peasant art. The prevailing convention is an unattractive one although very "local" in its character; practically the same poverty-stricken style which is to be found in very provincial catholic churches, with gilded roses and heads of cherubim, a canopy supported by twisted columns over the altar and capricious rococo fluting. Many of the Roman-Catholic churches have been converted for use by worshippers of the Uniate faith.

Nevertheless the local church baroque is often decorated in a very gracious style. Quite magnificent, for example, is the carved iconostasis, ornamented with heavy vine branches, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century in Poroškov. Very interesting also is the iconostasis obtained from a ruined church in the Vrkhovina. I myself was able to remove from another ruined church in Šašvari the holy gates of the altar screen which are reproduced here and are extremely typical of the country, although it is difficult to believe that they were actually made on the spot (Figure 36).

In the interior of the churches there may be often found amongst the objects with



which the building is furnished several which bear an undoubted peasant stamp; besides the altar crosses which have already been referred to one may come across a tablet with a picture of the invincible St. George with the writhing dragon beneath him or a curiously decorated banner by some crude native artist, or a tall roughly-turned candlestick on voluted legs, or a three-branched carved candlestick on one side of which is depicted the crucified Christ with the sun beneath him and on the other the most naive cherubim, looking like bats with the heads of priests. The three-branched candlestick depicted in Figure 33 is characteristic of the older examples and possibly dates from the eighteenth century. This form continues to inspire the craftsman; all the more so since the favourite themes of the local carvers are all to be seen here: the six-petalled rose, the fern, the teeth. The tradition of the Trinity is greatly respected in Sub-Carpathian Russia. The peasants carve it to this day. Very individual types of candlesticks are to be found in the neighbourhood of Jasina but the carving resembles that of the school of the Škryeblyakovs (Figure 29).

In conclusion I must refer to the designs on those village productions which are associated with Easter; the decorating, with the help of wax, of Easter eggs and the sculptural ornamentation of Easter cakes. Both of these are reproduced here (Figures 30, 31, 32 *a* & 34). Needless to say, the types which are reproduced do not exhaust the large number of variations in the designs employed. A hundred pages could be filled with the different Easter designs, some of which embody very old national reminiscences, e. g. baked easter images of larks of the same traditional type as those found in Russia. The themes of the geometrical circle, the fern and the latin S (which I shall refer to in detail when dealing with embroidery) are often found on the Easter cakes but, generally speaking, their sculpture is much more naturalistic; they usually adorn them with flowers, which are often reproduced down to the smallest botanical details, as a symbol of the flowering time of Easter.



C E R A M I C S

It has already been said that the pottery production of Sub-Carpathian Russia owes more to recent Hungarian influences than to local tradition. But the people are fond of ornamented pottery. It is rarely that one comes across a peasant's hut in which there is not a shelf of decorated vessels of different sorts and this peasant pottery completes with the play of its variegated ornamentation the effect of the red and white stripes of the towels, tablecloths and bedcoverings which have been woven at home. The Slovakian potteries for a long time past have flooded Sub-Carpathian Russia with their glazed enamelled domestic utensils, and there are now also importations from Bohemia. Nevertheless the cheapest products are those of the craftsmen in Užhorod, Khust, and Sevlyuš. On market days each craftsman brings everything which he has made during the week to the market place and arranges irregularly on the bare ground the pots, jugs, plates and cups of different sizes which have been decorated with his own hand and only just been fired and glazed. The technique and form adopted by the different craftsmen is the same but each one has his own *genre*, his favourite colours and patterns.

Radiating from the centres mentioned, above the peasant pottery of Sub-Carpathian Russia penetrates into almost every village. In addition to this in two or three places in the district of Marmaroš a vessel is manufactured of the most simple type, without decoration and unglazed. The following is the method of manufacture: the craftsman with his feet sets in rotation a large wooden circular plate to the axle of which, level with the hands of the worker, is attached another wheel, much smaller and therefore rotating at a much greater speed. This smaller wheel serves for the turning and polishing of the objects which take form under the skilful hands of the operator.

I do not propose to speak in detail of the artistic individualities of the potters who, more or less talented, are at present working in Užhorod, Khust, and Sevlyuš, either alone or in families, and who, as best they can, adapt themselves to the demands of the market. I will only touch upon isolated examples selected from a fairly large amount of material, on examples which reveal the local decorative tradition in this industry, which throughout has become modernized and subjected to Hungarian influence.

I will begin with Užhorod, the pottery of which town is better known outside the country. Of late its pottery has found a market abroad, even in America. Unfortunately the most popular types of Užhorod pottery are not the most artistic but those which appeal to buyers who visit the country. Not far from Užhorod is the village of Kapušana, where there are working fairly busily a number of semi-craftsmen, semi-intellectuals,

who make this popular pseudo-peasant pottery. The fantastic, many-coloured design consists of irregular flowers threaded, as it were, on strings of bright beads. The favourite colours are dark — brown, dark blue, black. The glaze is a bright one, so that the strings of beads stand out in a decorative manner. I do not know who first invented this “blistered” style; anyway the pottery which is manufactured at Kapušana is exotically modern, although *motifs* are occasionally introduced which are derived from the local peasant tradition.

The other pottery which is sold in the market at Užhorod is much simpler in style and proportionately cheaper. Its cheapness renders it accessible to the village, who, instead of the exotic products of Kapušana, prefer to buy the unstudied products of the Užhorod potters, who have no thought in their heads of the prettiness appreciated in the towns and who sometimes instinctively adopt the primitive style which is so valued in folk products. At times this primitive style may be seen even here with one of the magyarized potters of the capital of Sub-Carpathian Russia. By local design I mean that which is found also in carving: excessive geometrism expressing itself in the stylization of ancient patterns.

Figure 43 shows three plates which are instructive in this sense. The combination of wave-like stripes, points and circles — on the edges of plate *a* — with the dull star-shaped figure at the centre must be considered as the successful resolution of a decorative problem, primitive and not free from very ancient influences. For are not these zigzags and circles the first written speech of man, the first decorative confession of the cave in far-away Bronze and even Neolithic times? Long ago; but we know that in order for this speech to be evolved there had to be a yet more distant period when decorative patterns did not consist of geometrical stylization but of direct representation, perhaps of a cuneiform character, of nature and the animals which were the first friends and enemies of mankind. Perhaps this white zigzag on a brown field found on Užhorod plates may have been originally a snake, and this triangle a bat. Thus do the significant forms of peasant art lead back into the dim valleys of pre-historic times.

Actually there are certain elements in other types of decoration to be found on contemporary pottery in Sub-Carpathian Russia which surprisingly recall those jugs and amphoras, covered with broken and intersecting lines, which are found in the area dating from the Bronze Age. Naturally there is no question of direct tradition — the Bronze Age was in its flower here a thousand years before our era — but do not these coincidences in form and ornament point to a common artistic psychology, as it were, and, further, to decorative elements which have been indirectly adopted by the craftsmen and which go back to the most distant past, although not to a local past? It must not be forgotten that a thousand years is a fabulous period from the standpoint of the quickly changing European town, but means much less to the village which has absorbed a culture which has been spreading from the Asiatic East from time immemorial. I have already drawn attention to the striking similarity of the Hucul decorative themes to the “Mycenian” style of the bronzes of Sub-Carpathian Russia. The potter’s wheel of Marmaroš, which has already been described, is practically the same as that which was used in the “*La Tène*” period. Does not this suggest a borrowing? The symbolical value of certain village customs takes us back still further into pagan darkness. Even if the primitive *motifs* of peasant art were not borrowed from memorials of the past by



VI. a—b

a long indirect path they have been followed nevertheless throughout the centuries through the instinctive taste of the simple craftsman with his reverence for the traditions of his forefathers. New styles appear and sometimes take root but the ancient fundamental tendencies do not lose their hidden power and sometimes come to the surface.

A characteristic trait of Sub-Carpathian Russian decoration, geometrism — the absence of decorations which portray nature immediately — can be seen by turning again to the plate marked *b* in Figure 43; here we have the combination of a geometrical design (concentric circles and a wavy curve) with the depiction of a flower. The plate marked *c* has a border of “firs” and the traditional six-petalled rose drawn within a toothed circle. The plates shown in Figures 44 and 45 *d* are more primitive. Here we have stars, large and small circles, crosses and zigzags. The tradition is patent in the design of the objects shown in Figure 43 *d* and *f*. It is more uncommon to find examples of a consistently geometrical pattern in the Khust pottery; it is almost completely dominated by the Hungarian flowered stylization (Figures 44 & 45). Nevertheless the vessels made by the craftsman Lenovič, shown in Figure 42 — a black-brown “khorn” and a jug for water of the “Caucasian” type (a neck with two apertures and a further aperture in the handle) are ornamented in the same primitive style. And in the case of the other pottery from Khust and Sevlyuš these primitive designs are as it were an indispensable accompaniment to the colours of the tulip, carnation, iris, daisy etc. with which the pots, which are simple in form and generally of a magyarized pattern, are adorned. The colouring varies, each craftsman choosing them according to his personal taste. If, for example, we find with the Užhorod potter Grevnyak a particularly delightful combination of white and green and dark blue and coffee-colour, Petrovčik excels in dark brown backgrounds with a white or blue pattern and Bembovik in white stripes and dots on an orange field etc. The work of other craftsmen recalls more than anything else majolica. The harmony of the grey-white background with the blue and orange pattern reveals innate taste, although the designs of wild carnations and tulips are less happy (Figure 41 *f* to *h*).

It will be understood that in referring to the patterns of Užhorod, Khust and Sevlyuš as magyarized I am not attempting to define the Hungarian decorative style. Neither do I think that the flowers depicted on the pottery of Sub-Carpathian Russia are of the ancient Hungarian type. Nevertheless it is an undoubted fact that all this national style is borrowed from Hungarian industry. Another fact: local pottery, besides being influenced by Hungarian models, is also influenced by the tradition of local customs. The theme of the “fern”, for example, or of the “ear of corn” (which recalls the “cord” of their Kurgan neighbours) corresponds, it would seem, with the more simple patterns found in village carving. It is doubtful if one can make any historical deduction from this fact, but an aesthetic conclusion forces itself upon us: the further development of Sub-Carpathian Russian pottery (if it persists) will be determined by the direction in which the national taste evolves.

But the most interesting ceramics are again to be found in the south-eastern corner of the country — in the Hucul area. I have in mind the plates (more rarely, jugs) of Galician origin, which give a particular colouring to the huts which lie at some distance from the roads in the regions of Jasina, Kvasy and Bogdan-on-the-Tisa. The old-fashioned plate, reproduced

in Figure 48 *a*, was obtained from "White Cross". Round the edge large teeth alternate with palm branches and the whole of the middle part is occupied with a picture of a cow in rather fantastic surroundings; here and there among the decorative scrolls and garlands is to be seen a small eye with lashes radiating in all directions (derived from a spell?). On another plate of the same type from Bogdan (Figure 48 *b*) is depicted a bull; the whole shows a combination of green, brown and yellow on a white ground. Not less interesting are the other two plates from these villages (Figure 48 *c* and *d*), the decoration of which approximates to the geometrical style, while completely "eastern" in appearance is the wheel-shaped jug with the same colours shown in Figure 49. Finally there is also reproduced a series of jugs the predominating colour scheme of which is a dark blue pattern on a white ground (Figures 46 & 47).

In all these cases we evidently have to do with productions coming from the heart of the pottery industry for which both eastern and western Galicia was famous, having traded in such objects as early as the XVIIth century. In the middle of the last century (the utensils which are reproduced here date from approximately that time) there were more than eight hundred master-potters in Galicia; 387 masters and 649 apprentices in the district under the Chamber of Commerce in Lvov and 219 masters and 317 apprentices in the district of Brod.

At this time there were four pottery works working in the east, while there were as many as forty places where glazed pottery was manufactured. In whatever spot in the district of Jasina there are now found plates with designs of this delightful greenish-brown colouring, they all agree in their character with the general artistic style of the Hucul area.



COSTUME AND PERSONAL DECORATION

The national dress, together with the embroidery with which it is decorated, is the most important element of the Sub-Carpathian Russian peasant culture which has been preserved. The old peasant dress is still worn in most of the villages along the Tisa and its tributaries in the Marmaroš area, in the valley of the Turia and all over the Vrkhovina. Only comparatively slowly is it being pushed into the background by clothing of the ordinary type to be found all over Europe. The persistence of the national dress may be attributed not only to the backwardness of the country but to the depth of the national feeling. Whether under the rule of Hungarians, Suabians, or Poles, the Ruthenians kept to their "Russian" dress, which was a sort of ensign. And this showed a healthy instinct; the national costume was an efficient protection against spiritual absorption by foreign elements. And if, after centuries of every type of serfdom, the Sub-Carpathian Russian peasant describes himself as a Russian, has not forgotten his native language and has preserved his orthodoxy within the Uniate faith, he must thank for this the national dress of his forefathers. Naturally enough this dress was not preserved unaltered from its ancient Slav-Sarmatian-Mongolian past. It was retained in parts, here one, here another, and was subjected to a variety of influences: Slovak, Hungarian, German, Polish, and Rumanian, in fact to contagion generally. It is not my task to analyse these influences, all the more so as the different elements have also affected one another. Even the foundation of these other national cultures, usually described as Slavonic, certainly contained elements which lead us far back into the past. Borrowings in such cases, dating as they do from so far back, have penetrated into the flesh and blood of the nation and have ceased to be dissonant elements. Elements belonging to different nations, having been fused for centuries, produce a stylistic whole. The national costume, although it is an expression of the most obstinate conservatism, has, as a living element in the people's existence, been affected extraneously in every possible way. It is the same thing whether it is a conqueror, a neighbour, or a tribe with higher or lower culture; the alien culture in some way or other is certain to modify the local evolution. As a result on the basis of the old culture (which itself is not purely of native origin but represents the result of the interaction of various forces) new combinations are formed which must be regarded as perfectly natural.

The national dress in Sub-Carpathian Russia offers an instructive example of this: the extraordinary vitality of the old elements which have been preserved, and at the same time the introduction of foreign and more or less ancient elements into the tradition. Hence the great number of combinations, some of which are paradoxical, and which almost always

captivate one by some unexpected feature. The national costume is most vivid in the regions where the local art generally is most developed, i. e. amongst the Huculs; the greatest freedom from Hungarian influence naturally is to be found in the Vrkhovina and in the valley of the Turia, while the greatest variety is to be found in the villages in the district of Marmaroš.

In the Hucul region the peasants wear a Russian blouse with a stiff, stand-up collar, generally of an old-fashioned type — the “Košulya”. The blouse is worn over the trousers and fastened with a woven woollen belt of different colours which is tied on the left side. The collar, breast and facings are embroidered either with cotton or wool as is also the lower border of the blouse and, in certain districts, as, for example, in Jasina, the sleeves also a short distance below the shoulders in thin stripes. All these embroideries are connected by a general dark pattern.

In the warm weather the Hucul wears cloth trousers (“gati”) over which he puts in the cold weather, like his Galician neighbours, black, dark blue, or dark red trousers of wool. With regard to boots, he wears either high ones of a Hungarian type or “postoly”, a kind of sandals with pointed toes which consist of a piece of thick tanned leather with no pattern on it drawn together by a neatly arranged strap, recalling the shoes of the Caucasian Highlanders. These shoes are worn over woven woollen stockings, white, black and sometimes red in colour with a coloured pattern at the top. The shoes are fastened to the feet by black threads of goat’s hair (Figure 55).

The finest features in the dress of the Huculs are a broad leather belt with several buckles (“čeres”) and a short decorated sleeveless garment. One of these belts, made in Jasina, is illustrated in Figure 56 *b*. It is usually dark red in colour and ornamented with stamped patterns and metal insertions. It serves as a pocket into which are thrust a knife, pipe, tobacco pouch etc., and serves as a protection for the stomach and chest when working with a boat hook and long oars on the heavy rafts. The garment mentioned above (Plate I) is made of lambskin of the finest quality and is lined with fur, is always white and soft like fine leather, and is embroidered in different colours and cleverly decorated with little leather straps of different hues, loops of lace and pierced metal rings in the Hungarian style generally. To the collar on both sides there is sewn a thin white cord with green and red tassels which is thrown back and hangs behind. In the summer this garment is worn both by the men and the women when they wish to appear in their best clothes. In the cold weather they wear short coats with long sleeves made of thick sheep’s wool.

I have never seen the people of the Hucul area wearing any adornments to their clothing made of copper, similar to those found in Galicia, such as wallets with copper fastenings, powder-horns, chain-bracelets, crosses worn on the breasts, etc. All the metallic objects found in the villages along the Tisa nowadays are obtained from Jewish dealers and the wallets which they carry are made of wool, spun at home and chequered, and take the form of string-purses or of a double sack which is carried over the shoulder. They may be found more to the west (Figures 50 and 57 *a*).

The traditional head-dress is not found so frequently among the Huculs. It consists of a winter cap with flaps decorated with fur which is either tied underneath the chin or projects at the top. It may still be found in Bogdan-on-the-Tisa. In other places one sees



VII. a—c

the less picturesque circular "šlyk". I did not come across the Galician summer caps with a broad brim, ribbons and feathers. And it is not every old man who wears long hair down to his shoulders — a style which until a short time ago was favoured by the lads, who greased their hair with butter and beer.

The dress of the young Hucul women has been preserved more fully. The younger girls still dress their hair beautifully, not covering their heads even in the hot weather. They divide their hair at the crown, carefully smoothing it and braiding it into two plaits to which they affix ribbons of different colours. In wet weather they cover their heads with a cloth. But only the married women are allowed to wear a cloth, having twisted their plaits round their heads in the form of a wreath and, having passed them under the chin, joined the ends at the back. This is a symbol of the loss of their freedom. At the ceremony of crowning the bride both she and the bridegroom wear wreaths made out of the leaves of the periwinkle in the form of a cap, in accordance with ancient tradition. These wreaths are decorated in different ways; in Jasina with little paper flowers of bright colours, green leaves and bright beads; the whole is covered with gold tinsel and attached to the hair by red woollen threads.

The more simple women's dress consists of a long Russian linen blouse reaching almost down to the ankles, gathered in a little round the neck and at the sleeves, with rich embroideries on the breast a little lower than the shoulders and wider than those worn by the men. Instead of a skirt there are worn two woven woollen aprons ("zapáski") illustrated in Figure 56 *a*. The rest of the clothing is the same as that of the men; stockings, leather coats and a pelisse in winter. A blouse with a shallow collar is fastened with a tape at the front and round the waist by an ornamental belt of different coloured wools, containing golden threads. These aprons (Figure 32 *b*) are woven of thin wool in close stripes of light and dark red wool relieved by silver and gold threads. The appearance of these aprons is generally the same but they differ in the shade of colour used and one sees, on looking closer, slight variations in the woven pattern. They are fastened both in front and behind by a long woollen selvedge so that the front part of the apron comes round over the back one. But every village has its own variation; the bottom part of the blouse shows more or less, etc.

I must refer to the woven winter gloves which are carefully decorated on both sides with a manycoloured design and also to the more beautiful neck-ornaments of glass beads which are worn by the girls and women. Ordinary beads are worn more rarely. The pattern for the neck-ornaments has the same character as that on the embroideries but does not vary. In width they are not more than five centimetres (Plate 2 *a—d*). The most narrow ones I saw were in Bogdan where they also decorate tablecloths with glass beads.

This, of course, is not all that could be said regarding the costume of the Huculs. From Velikiy Bočkov to Jasina there is a whole scale of local fashions. The garments of the women vary in design, choice of colours, dimensions and the technique of sewing. The narrowest in size are found in Bogdan, those of Rakhovo, and Kvasy are wider while the widest of all are to be seen in Jasina. Nevertheless in the enormous village of Jasina, which is really a congeries of smaller ones stretching for more than twenty kilometres along the Tisa, the style of embroidery varies with each part of the village. In some places the sleeves of the women's shirt are embroidered all over, producing a splendid effect (Figure 51 and Plate III).

The style of the men's dress varies as well. But these details are of secondary interest.

In moving westwards along the Tisa one is struck by the remarkable character of the dress to be found there, recalling that of the dwellers on the Hungarian plain, with short blouses beneath which can be seen the naked body above the belt. This paradoxical and obviously borrowed costume is also worn by the men in the neighbourhood of Iršava and Dolga. The shirt worn by the women, however, does not differ much from the Hucul one. The difference lies in the fact that the seam is at the back as may be seen in the shirts from Beraznik illustrated in Figure 54. In front at the collar a small "front" is sewn in thick folds. The sleeves are also decorated with different kinds of stitches which are made directly on the material of the shirt and in a different style for girls and women. The material is spun at home and so closely woven that no canvas is necessary. When the blouse is made of material of good quality, of pure bleached linen, only the upper part is embroidered (as with the Huculs); more coarse material is used for the bottom part. The embroideries often occupy as much as three quarters of the sleeve.

Women's blouses of the same type, with a belt, which the girls tie at the back and the women at the front, are worn everywhere in the district of Marmaroš. In Černa the dress is of the Roumanian style, as illustrated in Figures 57 *a—b* and 59 *b*.

Strictly speaking, the women in the district of Marmaroš, unless they wish to be stylish, do not wear skirts but dress in the masculine style. For the skirt is substituted an apron in folds which is sewn on to the belt. The bottom of the blouse is visible beneath it and it is tied in front in the fashion shown in Figure 65. Various bought materials are used for these aprons; in Volovoje, for example, black woollen woven material is preferred and this is also used for the cloth which is worn over the head (Figure 59 *a*). This black colour also predominates in other places but variegated colours are more the fashion in the south of Marmaroš, while silks are also worn. Usually there are sewn on them stripes of ribbon and a belt is worn on the outside (Figures 62 and 65). I must refer also to the beautiful aprons found in the district of Dolga which are black and ornamented with coloured flowers and leaves. Here the women wear a long woollen belt, wound several times round the waist.

In Marmaroš instead of the "kožušok" of the Huculs is worn a short type of waistcoat bordered with teeth, ribbons and tape (Figures 56 *a*, 63 *a*). It recalls the Caucasian sleeveless garment. The rich peasant women wear instead waistcoats of red leather bordered with lambswool on which are sewn flowers, cord, tassels and metal buttons (Figures 60 and 61). This is an inheritance from the earlier Sub-Carpathian Russian bourgeoisie. A common article of dress both in winter and summer is also a short woollen coat, usually white in colour, the collar, the bottom of the sleeves and the pockets of which are covered with dark blue cloth. They are worn all the year round but in the summer the men do not use the sleeves but throw them over one shoulder. The women and girls love to wear necklaces — glass ones round the neck and larger ones of different dimensions and colours on the breast.

The method of dressing the hair is traditional and sometimes rather complicated. The young girls part their hair exactly at the top of the head and arrange it at each side lower down so that it is slightly waved while they braid it from the temples in two plaits which they join at the back with a long silk ribbon, further weaving pieces of dark wool

into the plaits (Figure 63 *b*). In the summer they adorn their hair with wreaths made out of periwinkle or with bunches of artificial flowers (Figure 62) and pierced pieces of money in the eastern style, and these ornaments, when they serve as an addition to the wreaths, take the form of bouquets hanging from the temples almost as far as the shoulders. These bouquets may contain paper roses, heavy beads, tinsel stars etc. etc. The wreaths are made of the same material; garlands with rows of glass beads of jet; or resembling a cap made out of feathers and ribbons of the type shown in Figure 57 *a*, 63 *a* and 64. All the girls wear wreaths at marriage. In families where there are several sisters this is the privilege of the eldest; one can always recognize her by her holiday dress; even now in celebrating marriages the priority of age is strictly observed. The head-dress of a bride is still more complicated and on occasion on the wedding day becomes a fantastic garland of flowers, the whole family assisting with this ceremonial toilet.

In the region to the west of Marmaroš, along the valley of the Boršava as far as Iršava to the south, wreaths are not worn but the plaits are beautifully tied behind with a ribbon; into the plaits are woven home-made fringed bands of red, blue, white and green wool. The married women, however, still wear the traditional cap, which is small and black and decorated with ruby-coloured ribbons and embroidery. Over the cap is worn a cloth, black or variegated in colour. In this region the young girl only wears a wreath of periwinkle on the occasion of her marriage. She removes it after the ceremony and puts on the ordinary type of straw hat which is ornamented with bulbs of garlic and grains of maize. Wearing this "totemistic" ornament, she returns to her hut and remains there until the old women after the wedding feast crown her with the wreath of marriage. Caps are not worn in the other parts of Marmaroš. For the marriage ceremony a cloth is worn over the head with the ends tied at the back, while in a more pretentious style the plaits are arranged round the head so that the ends are joined over the forehead and visible from the sides (Figure 61). This custom is also taken over from the bourgeoisie.

The women usually wear on their feet high boots as well as low ones. More to the north, they also wear above their stockings or leg-wrappings the kind of footwear shown in Figure 55. In going through the mud they are obliged, so as not to dirty their stockings, to walk on their toes and this has affected the local gait. The more stylish peasants wear red leather boots of Hungarian cut when on holiday.

I have already referred to the short men's blouses worn in the district of Dolga-Iršava and the long aprons which are attached to them. Everywhere in the other parts of Marmaroš the men have the usual Russian blouse with a stiff collar, but in addition wear the ordinary trousers. The pleated chest and facings are ornamented with a fine, delicate and complicated pattern, which, however, does not strike the eye. The shirt is usually fastened with blue glass buttons.

The peasants of Marmaroš always wear in the summer broad "gati" of linen, and in the winter narrower ones of wool. These latter are either made at home of pure lambswool or bought. Broad belts of the kind found among the Huculs are worn in the valley of the Boršava on the bare body. In most places nothing is worn beyond the black "laibik". Over this both the men and the women wear the "vuioš". The women wear high boots more

frequently than do the men. In the summer there are worn wide brimmed felt hats with a low crown, decorated with flowers, in the winter a hat of grey lambskin and in places a high fur cap of the Caucasian type. But the most curious of all is the warm clothing which is found all over Marmaroš as well as in many other places in Sub-Carpathian Russia: the "gunya". It is worn both by men and women. The "gunya" resembles the short Caucasian cloak, and is made of homespun wool, white, grey or black in colour, without a collar and ornamented round the neck with red cloth and fastened with a large woollen knot. In Marmaroš it is also more frequently bordered with white cloth. The sleeves are long, although some types exist with no sleeves at all. It is woven of lambswool and in such a way that the left side is smooth and the right covered with tufts so that it resembles the surface of a fleece. In the villages of Marmaroš these cloaks are usually white and do not reach below the knee. But along the Boršava, the character of which region is generally different, the cloaks are black and smooth all over. The inhabitants of the region are consequently referred to as "Blacks". This smooth type of cloak is known as the "petek". It is worn in the villages along the Terešva and the Rika and amongst the Huculs. Near Lemka in the Vrkhovina the "petek" is of a special type; shorter in front and with the sleeves so long that they drag along the ground and serve as pockets. Here, evidently we have a certain analogy with the similar clothing worn by the Lemki of Galicia. This garment is also found to the east of the Carpathians and among the Slovaks.

In moving northwards from Marmaroš to the Vrkhovina in the north we reach the region inhabited by the Sub-Carpathian Lemki. The frontier is crossed approximately in the village of Soima beyond Volovôje. Here almost everywhere the women wear a short blouse reaching to their thighs and a broad skirt. An apron is fastened above the skirt, and both of them are usually made of bought material of different colours, more commonly black and dark blue. If a skirt of the same domestic manufacture as the blouse is worn it is as a petticoat. Only further towards Užok does the peasant woman go about simply dressed wearing no material which is bought and in this case her skirt is of homespun hemp, ornamented at the bottom with red and dark blue threads and a special kind of home-made lace (Figure 42 a).

The blouses of the "Lemki" and of the girls in the Vrkhovina generally are ornamented more modestly than the long ones of the "Lišáčanki" of Marmaroš, but they are not less elegant. There is no broad ornamentation covering as much as two thirds of the blouse; instead one horizontal band stretches across it a little below the shoulder and the facing is ornamented with a special design and a "front" stitched in folds in a particular manner which forms a good background for a necklace (Figure 69). The blouse is fastened not at the back but on the right side at the collar (Figure 53 b). The designs on the breast and the cuffs are often extraordinarily delicate. Sometimes jewellery is sewn on thick and heavy plush, resulting in the most beautiful effects. The breast pieces shown in Figure 68 and in Plate IV serve to illustrate the fine work done by the people of the Vrkhovina. I do not wish to go into technical details. I will only point out that these breast pieces and cuffs are sewn with two needles at once, one of which draws the thread through the material while the other, which is finer, serves to make a chequered pattern out of the stitches.



The woman's blouse preserves the same character throughout the whole of the Vrkhovina. In the different villages there are only slight variations in fashion and design. The quality of the weaving also varies. In the region of Užok and in the villages on the Polish frontier the weaving is of a coarser quality. The cloth becomes better as we approach Volovec. In these regions the girls who are to be married and the young married women prefer purchased cotton fabrics with a fairly large web so that they are able to count the threads when embroidering.

The women in the Vrkhovina wear headcloths of different colours and in places caps. A betrothed "Lemka" girl goes to the church both in summer and winter with her head uncovered, her hair loose or carefully arranged round her head (the married women twist it in a knot on the crown of the head). But from Volovoye to Volovec the girls never leave their cottages without a cloth over the head, which is invariably white in colour. After being married they at once put on two head coverings, one small one which is red or black, and over that another one, larger, and which may be of any colour and is tied under the chin. In both cases two plaits are braided and in each of them is entwined a strip of red wool the ends of which are united in the form of a tassel. In the region of Užok, where the long blouse has to some extent been preserved, the women wear a woven belt of coarse red and green wool and fastened to it at the back some of their hair-ribbons in the form of a tassel.

In this region on being married they wear a cap of white bought cloth (Figure 66), which becomes more narrow at the top and is fastened at the back with one or two long embroidered ribbons. The crown is adorned with pieces of coloured cloth or with a silk ribbon into which has been woven coloured flowers or with gold and silver lace etc. The material which serves as a basis for this ornamentation is sold by Jewish dealers. An original type of cap is found in the neighbourhood of Volovec; it is white in colour with a bunch of black ribbons at the back, oval and almost flat in shape and woven in an old-fashioned style. This curious cap is only worn on two occasions and on each of them is placed on the head by the hands of a priest; once in the church at marriage and a second time at death in the coffin. The flat form of these traditional head-dresses, which, by the way, are similar to others which I have seen in Moravia, recall the caps to be found in the Caucasus.

The men's blouses in the Vrkhovina are generally slightly different from those to be found in Marmaroš; the homespun material is more coarse and they are ornamented on the collar, breast, and cuffs — more usually with simple black threads in the form of a cross. All the peasants wear wide summer "gati", fastened with a strap; the "gati" in the neighbourhood of Volovec are fringed. In the winter the peasants wear narrow cloth "khološni". In the mountains they wear "čeresi". Their warm winter caps are usually known as "kolpaki" and vary considerably in type. They are more or less round in form and bordered with fur and occasionally provided with ear plaits and a woollen tassel at the crown. Their outer clothing — both for men and women — consists everywhere of the same type of "vuioš" which is worn in the plain. It is made of rough homespun grey or white "postav", embroidered with dark blue or black bought cloth. In winter one finds the sleeveless "gunya" over all the district of Užok and southwards along the rivers Už and Turia. It is not common amongst the Boiki, and the Lemki, as we have seen, have substituted for it the long-sleeved

“petek”. On their feet they wear openwork stockings, linen wrappings, as well as boots, the last of which are worn by the women.

In the valley of the Turia the town dress is rapidly taking the place of the national costume, and this is particularly to be regretted as the details of the Turian dress constitute an artistic rarity. In its details the short blouse of the women is more attractive, perhaps through its having a more modest and dignified style than that found in the Vrkhovina. It is cut differently; there is a fine border not completely round the collar, but only at the front and the back, while the shoulders are left unornamented and the sleeves sewn on in such a way that the embroidered breast piece stretches across them. The blouse is cut either round or square and fairly deep; there is a short opening at the front and not at the side, fastened with buttons or lace; round the collar is a narrow strip of embroidery. On the breast round this opening are several strips of very fine embroidery. Some of the old types of blouses have sleeves additionally ornamented with a vertical strip of embroidery in the form of a cross (Plate V).

The skirts are broad with heavy folds. Until recently the peasants still wore such skirts made of homespun hemp with a belt which was embroidered with crosses of different colours. Nowadays for their skirts, breast pieces, and sleeved bodices they use bought material.

The girls dress their hair with a straight parting and wear one plait with a broad ribbon entwined at the bottom of it. When dressed in their best they do not wear a head-cloth. The old-fashioned caps have still not disappeared in those villages along the Turia which are some distance from the railway. They are slightly different in form from those found in the Vrkhovina; broad at the top with horns projecting at the sides. They arrange their hair beneath these caps in a special manner — on a piece of wood, the corners of which serve to support the cap. Instead of horns, they wear also wooden combs, which are now giving way to manufactured ones. The type of cap found in the Turia does not have long ribbons, but is ornamented with strips of ribbon which are arranged in pairs and sewn at the back above the plaits and hang in a fringe. The lower edge is ornamented with red and black thread, while other threads ascend to the top in a zigzag and the small part of the surface which remains is sewn with red, blue and green. On top of the cap is worn a handkerchief. In addition to the caps thin fringed cloths are also worn which are tied in a knot at the waist, having been folded in the form of a triangle, the ends crossing across the breast in such a way that the fringe hangs over the shoulders. Black velvet ribbon is also worn on the neck in addition to necklaces.

The breast piece of the men's blouses are very tastefully ornamented with crosses of different colours, and flat embroidery. The blouses have a low collar and cuffs. When the traditional broad cloth “gati” are worn, they are fringed. The other details of the Turia costume are not significant; in most places the dress is half-way to that worn in the towns.

The dress in the neighbourhood of important centres like Užhorod, Berezna, Mukachevo etc. is almost everywhere largely under the influence of that worn in the towns. In the suburbs of the towns and in whole regions having a mixed population in the south-west, one only comes across portions of this national dress, which to a considerable extent shows the effect of Hungarian and Roumanian influences.

WEAVING AND EMBROIDERIES

It is not my task to consider in detail the technique of Sub-Carpathian Russian embroidery. As I go along I shall only give such information as is necessary to render clear considerations regarding style. In any case no mere explanations in words would suffice for a person who is not initiated into the secrets of needlework, while for those who understand the subject the pictures which are reproduced here will speak for themselves. I have already called attention in the introduction to the great varieties in the technique of these productions. It remains only to develop this point further in the course of analysing the reproduced examples of designs, which are arranged according to ethnographical regions. I will begin with that of the Huculs and Marmaroš where the embroidered pattern is most developed and where the technique of embroidery resembles that of the ancient fabrics, from which a large proportion of the designs are derived (such fabrics, of the same geometrical style, are found in many places all over Russia and are described as “perebor” and “peretyka”). I shall then deal with the embroideries of the valley of the Turia and those of the Vrkhovina, where the elements of design are substantially the same, although the technique is considerably simplified and the designs are, at the same time, of poorer quality.

To begin with, I am considering designs and not the colours of the pattern. I am of the opinion that the colour in a given instance is not of decisive significance. The tradition of colours is less constant. The customs of villages in this respect fluctuate through various chance causes. If the original traditional colour is preserved from the time when the village used vegetable dyes of its own manufacture, that village is confronted with too powerful a temptation in the form of the manufactured material, coloured with aniline dyes, which has now become universal. The old style has preserved itself only in obscure, out-of-the-way corners and even there we can see it changing, as it were, before our eyes. For example, the Vrkhovina style of embroidering with nothing but red and dark blue crosses, or with red and black ones, or, again, with black ones only, is gradually disappearing; yellow has come into fashion in the memory of people who are still not very old. And this is a common phenomenon. The manycoloured dots used in the Turia design are also comparatively a novelty; The dots were formerly black. It is the same thing with the variegated colours of the Hucul “ustavki”, which, with the predominance of this or that colour scheme, is a departure from the older pattern. The colour scheme changes in the course of centuries and in this respect the influence of neighbours must be said to be the most important one. Thus recently in the neighbourhood of Jasina a bright scheme of yellow-orange-green has definitely superseded the previous one of black-green-red, perhaps as an echo of the local sympathy with Galicia.

and the Ukraina. Apart from this the national fashions are subject to inexplicable caprices.

Designs are much more obstinate. They are preserved apart from the variations in the colouring; their style is closely related to the traditional technique of manufacture. We notice this in Sub-Carpathian Russia. The patterns of the embroidery have been preserved from a distant past; their fundamental character is the same as that of embroideries in other Slavonic countries, where the memory of the traditional national art has not been effaced (apart from the fact of the extent to which the most primitive Slavonic elements are apparent in the pattern). The most interesting element of all, consequently, is the design itself, the stylistic skeleton of the Sub-Carpathian Russian embroideries. I shall speak further of this later.

The basis of this design is everywhere, from Stuzice to Jasina, exactly the same; a lozenge, i. e., a quadrangle with equal sides, more or less prolonged (beginning with the most simple figure of the quadrant). The lozenge may also be regarded as composed of two equal triangles, joined at the base. A row of lozenges of equal size, arranged in stripe, gives a chain, which, in its turn, appears as the combination of two traditional "krivulki", i. e., broken lines, either meeting at the angles in the form of little teeth or intersecting one another (which does not alter the position as in the second case the links of the "krivulka" are twice as long).

All the variations in the basic design of Sub-Carpathian Russian embroidery follow from this. The embroidery may thus be described as of the lozenge type. What at the first glance appear to be the most complicated designs can finally be resolved into developments of this geometrical theme. And if on rare occasions vegetable garlands are woven into the pattern, these may be regarded as decorative elements which have been introduced later, although they have grown into the geometrical design and have themselves become subjected to geometrical stylization.

In this lies the remarkable difference between the national design of Sub-Carpathian Russia and that of Great Russia or of the Ukraina. The embroideries and woven fabrics of Northern and Central Russia have for a long period been influenced by the Finnish vegetable and animal ornamentation, which is represented in its richness in the art of the Čuvašes. The designs of the south-west have been influenced by the coloured Persian stylization, which has done so much to enliven the Ukrainian themes (Polish influences are also present). None of these influences have penetrated to the west of the Carpathians. The only element found both to the east and the west of the Carpathians is the geometrical foundation of the lozenge. This element is found preserved in the greatest purity in the embroideries of Smolensk, which is characteristic of White Russia.

The element of vegetable ornament is completely absent in the Hucul embroidery. It is only found in places where the Polish, Slovakian or Hungarian type of ornamentation has exerted an influence. It is possible to speak of a purely geometrical tradition of embroidery in Sub-Carpathian Russia generally, however much one is able to see in other themes of the embroideries some sort of an imitation of nature. It is true that this last idea is supported by various local designations of patterns, like "sheep's horns", "feathers", "butter-



flies", "ears of corn", „fir tree“, etc. But more often than not these terms describe the traditional geometrical motifs in terms of analogy.

It is sufficient to examine the Hucul embroideries to see that the lozenge pattern is the most fundamental one. The most typical design of Jasina, which is worked out in thousands of variations (see Plate VI, and Figures 70 and 71) consists of broad unbroken bands of lozenges meeting at the angles and placed between straight strips in one or several lines, which strips form a border to the garment. And above them there are rows of "trubki". These decorative "trubki", a number of which have a long ornamental genealogy, are geometrically nothing but the produced sides of a rhombus. They may be considered to have been derived from a meander pattern of an eastern type, as will be seen further. In the ornamentation of Great and White Russia these hooks are the foundation of the varied treatment of the theme of the *svastika* (Figure 99 c). This is missing in the designs of Sub-Carpathian Russia, unless we consider the rhombus with its hooks to be constituted, as it were, by a double *svastika*, which is plausible from the graphic point of view. If the bent ends are lost the "trubki" become "little horns" or project in the form of fine bristles along the sides of the rhombus. The bristles occasionally adorn all the outlines of the design and give to it a fine toothed effect.

But the designs become still more complicated. Small lozenges with a "little eye" in the centre are placed inside larger ones and are also spread out or clustered together, resulting in the whole surface of the embroidery being covered with a chequered effect. Or they may be united in groups of five in the form of crosses, while the crosses themselves are ornamented with bristles etc. To these meander-like ornamentations of the lozenge are closely allied the little hooks which are attached to the sides of the rhombus on the inside; this treatment has particular significance in the technique of embroidery and weaving in the district of Marmaroš (Figure 79). In Jasina they embroider as well patterns which consist entirely of small lozenges with an "eye". At times the whole embroidery consists of bands which are bordered with rows of these little lozenges or with "trubki" on half-lozenges as shown in Figs. 71 c and 73 a. Occasionally there are also to be found strips which are crossed with parallel lines on a smooth background (Fig. 72 b), as well as lozenges with indentures at the top and teeth at the bottom, forming crosses or eight-pointed stars (Fig. 77 c, d). Half of such a star constitutes a butterfly. Borders are also formed of these "butterflies" as well as of figures which are called "čobotki". Half a "butterfly" gives a "feather". Lastly there is an ancient type of figure recalling the symbol for endlessness, in a number of variations (Figure 77 a, b). It is true that this figure also is simply reached through an arrangement of lozenges (by rounding the angles) and this idea is supported by other Sub-Carpathian Russian embroideries in which the meander pattern, through being broken, gives the figure of an S lying down, with sharp angles. But we shall see later that this figure can be interpreted in different ways. It is met with in strips as well as separately on Caucasian carpets and in Mongolian ornamentation and, as a very typical element, on the embroideries and woven material in the Balkans generally; in the Bukovina, Roumania, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Albania etc. etc.

The designs to be found in Bogdan-on-the-Tisa, Rakhovo, Kossovska and Kobolya

Polyana, Rosuška etc. generally speaking repeat the combinations of those of Jasina, differing from them chiefly in colour. The delicacy of their colouring is sufficiently well shown by Plates VI-VIII. It may be said that in Rosuška the strips of lozenges are less compact and ornamented with bristles to a greater extent; in Bogdan the whole design is finer and the embroideries noticeably narrower; Kobolya and Kossovska Polyana respectively are distinguished by lozenges which are sewn in the form of a "cross" along the edges of the material in such a way that they resemble a string of beads (Plate VIII). In addition very characteristic of Rosuška and Kobolya Polyana are edgings consisting of hooks which recall moulded cornices. On occasion the whole pattern consists of ordinary bands placed between such "cornices". Typical of Rakhovo are the rhombuses with long "horns", resembling spider's legs, as well as bands of S's which are placed inside rhombuses, zigzag hooks of an eastern carpet type etc.

It will be understood that there is a great deal of freedom and chance variation in this ornamental counterpoint. And the more new the embroidery is the more often do we come upon a conscious departure from the tradition. It would be strange if in our time the embroidered pattern had not been subjected to the influence of the insouciance of the towns. But generally speaking it may be said that the traditions of the past are still being adhered to. Apart from that we must always make a distinction between the Hucul patterns in the form of a "cross" and the "reversed" stitch which is more characteristic of the country and more closely allied with the technique of weaving, from which it was derived. This reverse stitching in black or dark red is sewn from the left side and then from the right, the spaces being filled with quilting of different colours.

This connection is more patent in the particular fine, double-sided, stitching which is called by the inhabitants of Marmaroš "naprosto", in which variety is obtained with a kind of sewing in which the stitches are raised, known as the "kučeryaviy" quilting. Here the whole system of embroidery is based on little hooks, of the type to which I have already referred, which are attached to the insides of rhombuses. We will take for example the embroideries of the "zaspulnitsi" of Dolga. The embroidery is in the form of lozenges which are close together in strips six centimetres or less in width, done in thick red thread, and sometimes having little blue spots. The sewing is in the form of grains, often reversed and done "from the left side" (apart from the blue spots), the basic figure being the rhombus with hooks in the form of a flower — known as the "ruža". The "ruža" may have two, three, or four hooks on each side. This is the scheme, but the treatment is infinitely varied. With the lozenge is associated the theme of feathers on the edges of the embroidery, giving it a festooned effect. The hooks themselves vary; they can be longer or shorter with this or that curvature. The whole "ruža" can be more or less complicated with the addition of various decorative elements such as: a small "ruža" inserted in the middle, bands crossed by parallel lines, "ferns" etc. The patterns are named according to these features. Thus they speak of "a ruža with two hooks", etc. One of these patterns decorates the sleeves of the woman's blouse from Bereznik shown in Fig. 54. The large cross on the sleeve of a blouse from Lyepša Polyana (Fig. 80 *a*) is of the same design.

The embroidered blouse from Nižni Sinevir (Fig. 79) shows a more simple figure

of the hooked rhombus in close rows. We have here simple "ružī" with two hooks with a small "ružā" in the centre, between stretches of the usual "putī" and ornamented below with "feathers". In its whole character this finely embroidered pattern suggests a *woven* design. Apart from this, the same patterns are still woven in Marmaroš, with the exception of the bordering with "feathers", which is exclusively embroidered. I have found these blouses with hooked "ružī" in Boronev in the neighbourhood of Iza. The resemblance is so complete that on first examining them you cannot tell when it is woven and when embroidered. I have already alluded to similar non-Russian "peretyki". In conclusion I must certainly recall the "rhombus" fabrics which are woven in many places in Roumania and Hungary. The ancient tradition is everywhere the same but the style of these fabrics varies, being more arbitrary and fantastic. In addition, the Roumanian pattern shows decided Grecian influence. It will be understood that the influence of this exotic stylization is evident also in the Hucul and Marmaroš styles of embroidery and in their colouration.

Unfortunately the woven materials of Sub-Carpathian Russia do not afford much material for stylistic investigation. They are often of secondary derivation and imitations of embroideries. The rhomboid basic pattern is generally evident, as may be seen from the patterns illustrated here. This foundation is very noticeable in the woollen "taistra" from Rakhovo, illustrated in Fig. 50 *a*. It is not entirely obliterated in the complicated arrangement of the threads in the characteristic weaving of the Hucul "zapaski" (Fig. 32 *b*). The linen towels and tablecloths are not less striking in this respect, although in most cases only traces are left of the "horned" rhombuses — in the form of red toothed strips of varying dimensions with combinations of crosses and figures recalling the Russian \mathfrak{H} (see Figs. 92 *a*, 93 *a*, *c*, *d*). The gradual development of this stylization is shown by the sheet illustrated in Figs 94 *b*, 95 *c* and 96 where there can be seen rhomboid "ružki", "trubki", "little stars" and "feathers".

But however poverty-stricken modern examples of Sub-Carpathian Russian weaving may be, it cannot be denied that the technique of the needle constitutes here a substitute for that of the loom and that the patterns which are now embroidered on blouses (weaving directly on the blouse is impossible and embroidery of a portion of the woven material is less beautiful, and awkward) originally served another object; before everything the decoration of broad surfaces. Involuntarily one regards their style as appropriate to carpets.

It is interesting to note that even to this day in Neresnice, Niagov-on-the-Terešva and in Sredna Apša carpets are woven which, incidentally, are decorated with rhombuses with hooks, as shown in Fig. 50 *b* — a wollen sack from Apša. Only here the "hooks" are in fours on each side of a rhombus with one hook on the inside, and represent a typical eastern decorative theme with an *axe-like* broadening of the "hook", the same element which is so essential in ancient Caucasian art, e. g., in the ancient carpets from the middle of the Caucasus. The genealogy of these hooks is also very ancient and probably goes back to primitive patterns of the far east and to the Chinese double meander, which is considered by F. Hirt to be a symbolical representation of thunder. It is very plausible to see in the Mongolian hooks, which have penetrated into the peasant art of Sub-Carpathian Russia, a symbolization of the claws of the dragon. At any rate this is clearly shown by a seal of the Ming dynasty which, as is known, took the place of the Tartar-Mongolian dynasty of the Iyuan in the fourteenth century.

One is particularly struck by the resemblance to the Sub-Carpathian Russian themes of the variegated flowering on Caucasian carpets. It is sufficient to compare, for example, the "taistra" from Apša, mentioned above, with the ancient carpets from the once-existing Khanate of Karabakh (now Azerbeidžan) or the recent peasant art from the town of Šuša in the Government of Elizabeth, which imitates the ancient style of design, or with the individually stylized smooth Kurd "yaman" (Figs. 97 & 98) in order to convince oneself of the identity of the theme. Generally speaking it may be said that there is no doubt that a large proportion of the elements of the Sub-Carpathian Russian pattern, and also the stylistic treatment of these elements, may be found in a complete form in Caucasian carpets, in old "mafraši", on which was placed light furniture, in smooth "zili", in "kelimi", "širazi", "sumaki" and other designs of a purely rhombus type. The carpet weavers of the Caucasus used such designs up to a short time ago, employing the same designs as the women of Niagov or Apša.

I will quote one more example; the woven strips which are used for decorating the "kibitki" of the Kirghiz of the district of Turgai, strips which, not only in design, but also in colouration correspond closely with the Hueul embroideries of the ordinary type; the same rhombuses with hooks at the sides (Plate II *f*). I do not wish to draw any historical-ethnographical conclusions at the moment but the similarity is striking.

Two "hooks" turned in opposite directions and rounded at the ends form a figure which the Sub-Carpathian Russian embroiderers describe as "ram's horns" or "ram's heads". It is well shown in Figure 90 *b* where four "ram's heads" are sewn in the form of crosses between two rows of teeth, which meet at the top — all along the edge of the bands. The same composition is to be seen in the Caucasian "mafraš" which is also reproduced; the heads in the form of a cross, the angles and bands are all evident. I may also point out that there are woven strips of the figure which I have described as a recumbent S and it appears here to be nothing more than a further stylization of the "ram's head", i. e., of the hook-shaped addition. And do not these again form what is described as the "eastern meander"?

The effect of two waves of such hooks meeting, recalling the Mycenaean "wave" and the Egyptian one (a fact which was pointed out to me by Prof. N. P. Kondakov), giving a zigzag stripe, is seen on the man's blouse from Lyubna (Fig. 53 *a*), while a form resembling an S is visible on the woman's blouse from Poroškov (Plate V; but see also the decorative teeth on the jacket from Jasina).

"Ram's heads" are well represented in Fig. 81, as well as in Figs. 78 *a* and 80 *b*. A large part of the embroidery on the sleeves from Nižni Sinevir is composed of these ram's heads (a further development of the theme which has been described), while the upper part of the decoration consists of feathered stars. It is easy to convince oneself that even the theme of the eight-pointed stars relates to the same tradition while there can be no doubt regarding the close connection of such stars with the eastern "palm" pattern (this has been pointed out already by V. V. Stasov).

As far as the carpet industry in Niagov, Neresnice and Apša, already referred to, is concerned, we have to do most probably with the direct influence of eastern carpet weaving through Roumania and Hungary. It is a fact that in Marmaroš-Siget a Hungarian school



X a—c

of weaving was open a short time before the outbreak of the war, a school in which were working masters from the above mentioned villages. A good many influences necessarily entered Carpathian Russia from the south where the historical and racial connection with the east remained unbroken. But nevertheless the rhombuses, "trubki" and "little hooks" (not axe-like in appearance) remained the *general tradition*, and therefore an ancient inheritance, not only for the Ruthenians but for the Slavonic tribes which have not come in contact with the Hungarians. I would once more draw attention to the fact that these decorative motifs are to be found also in the boundless areas of Russia amongst the Russian population and also amongst the non-Russian races, of Mongolian-Turanian and Ugro-Finnish blood. For example, the same "horned" rhombuses, embroidered in a bead-like pattern, which are found in Sub-Carpathian Russia, are also to be seen amongst the Russian peasants in the Governments of Orlov and Tula, as well as in the Ukraina. The same form of decoration is to be found among the Siberian Ostyaks at the mouth of the Obi river and amongst the Finns of the Volga — the Čuvašes, Mordvins, Čeremis, Permyaks, and Votyaks. And the same themes in embroidery and weaving are met with along the river Tisa and the Danube, in Azerbeidžan, among the Kirghiz and to the Scandinavian north, while traces of these designs have been found in eastern Germany and in islands in the Pacific Ocean. How are we to bridge the gulf between these widely separated sources?

But I repeat what I said in the Introduction; the question of origins can only be decided by further researches; the material at present collected is insufficient to enable us to come to any conclusion.

Coming back to our present theme, it remains to point out the complete analogy of the pattern of the Hucul and Marmaroš area with the "simplified" Vrkhovina and Turia pattern. This is an easy task. It is necessary only to bear in mind the stylistic differences which have been introduced into the northern Vrkhovina pattern, on the one hand through Slovak, Polish and other influences, and on the other through the simplified technique of the embroidery of narrow bands with "crosses".

The most characteristic element of the Turia embroideries are strips of truncated rhombuses, bordered with narrow bands of the same theme. This particularly applies to cuffs and facings, in which case the pattern is usually finished off by a row of sharp little teeth as shown in Fig. 82 *e* to *g*. Teeth of the same type may be found on the narrow collars of the blouses. A variation of these rhombuses sometimes found consists in the fact that the "cross" is combined with the "opletačka".

A special Turia characteristic in the embroidery of shoulder pieces in particular is produced by festooned borders of "butterflies" and "feathers", which give the whole pattern a quality of detailedness and an effect of prickles. The typical pattern of Turia Paseka and Turia Polyana, where the designs are much more fully preserved than in the remaining villages, is an arrangement of these "feathers", which are adorned with sharp horns. In other examples this original feathered bordering, which here resembles flower ornamentation (the effect of which is sometimes heightened by the addition of garlands), acquires the chief significance and dominates the whole pattern; all that remains of the rhombuses are certain scrolls.

The embroideries of Poroškovo are also at times embellished with variegated colours; to the original black, dark blue and red "cross" is added another which is bright blue, green or yellow in colour. In this case the whole of the canvas is not used, so that the white background shows through in places, which background in its turn is ornamented with quilting etc. This graceful style of embroidery is very different from the Hucul "woven" style, but even here the original pattern shows through everywhere and there can be no doubt of the fact that both styles have been inherited from the past. Characteristic also of the variations in the Turia pattern are rhomboid crosses, eight-pointed stars etc. In places the themes of the "trubka" and the "little hooks" may be seen (Figs. 82 and 85).

The designs of the Vrkhovina are on the same lines. They are simpler and, it would appear, more geometrical, in the first place because they are more closely sewn (at times without the material showing through at all) and in the second place because the "feathers" are treated less fully and there is an almost complete absence of conventionalised curves. For the most part the patterns consist of more simple combinations of the "krivulka", single, double or treble, with a fine border (Fig. 88 *a* to *d*). Two "krivulki", crossing one another form a strip of rhombuses with an eye in the centre. But here the rhombuses do not have "horns" at the side and inside, as with the Hucul pattern. In these designs there is simply no room for complicated patterns. The eastern tradition has only been preserved in traces, in the most modest and approximate imitations of what is highly developed in the Hucul area. This can be clearly seen, for example, in Figs. 86 and 87, where on the edges of the pattern are rudiments of the Hucul "bočarki". The cross which is placed inside a square or a rhombus, the star, and the theme of the ram's head have the same fate, which may be seen from the design from Stučice which, as I have said, repeats the composition of the Karabakh "mafraš" (a favourite figure of the Hungarian weavers).

It would not be difficult to give a convincing analysis of each of the Vrkhovina embroideries reproduced here, but after all that has been said this is perhaps unnecessary. If on several occasions I have returned to demonstrating the derivation of the Sub-Carpathian Russian embroidered design from the Hucul model it is because the view that the Vrkhovina embroidery is more ancient is well supported. On the other hand it may be said that the Vrkhovina pattern represents the Hucul one run to seed in a certain sense. It is impossible, however, to decide this question until we have in our hands all the necessary historical and ethnographical data; until we know when and in what circumstances the tribes which now inhabit the Sub-Carpathian Russian area inherited the tradition of oriental weaving which form the foundation of the national design. At the present time the way in which this design has been adopted by the Slavonic peoples is not clear. The process of variation in the pattern according to ethnographical regions can take place with greater or less speed under the influence of purely urban and economic conditions and yet it may take hundreds of years before it is accomplished. One point may be made: originally the type of design which is found in the more out-of-the-way parts of Sub-Carpathian Russia was formerly preserved there in almost complete purity more fully than in any other of the ethnographical groups which have inherited the tradition. In the Balkans, where it has also been preserved, the influence of the tradition of carpet weaving in Asia Minor

is patent; in Russia also, as in a large part of the Caucasus, Persian themes have been introduced, not to speak of those of the Renaissance. But here there is not the slightest trace of the Persian stylization of plants and animals, nor of the Renaissance, nor of the themes found in Smyrna and Brussa, although any number of such carpets, or of carpets of similar design, may be found in the adjoining area of Roumania. The tradition of this Ruthenian rhombus pattern is in truth an ancient one, which dates from a time when one culture exerted its influence on another very gradually. But always when the tempo is accelerated, owing to a favourable turn in trade or through political events, the purity of the style is lost and those elements which have been preserved from the national past cannot save the art from eclecticism. We know that this was the fate of the carpet pattern the resemblance of which with the Sub-Carpathian Russian one is so striking. The carpets of the Khanate of Karabakh, which are famous all over the Caucasus and are seen also in the markets of European Russia, the Balkans and even those of the West, lost their original beauty comparatively quickly. At one time the style was more pure, but it was spoilt by alien influences. The work of the masters of Šuša was, within our memory, a repetition of ancient examples or an exhibition of indigenous taste.

The national tradition is also dying out quickly in Sub-Carpathian Russia. History does not love beauty and it is doubtful whether anything can arrest this process of degeneration. Already there is a lack of intelligent teachers in the national schools. But I will say no more. We should be thankful to history for her few favours, for the small amount of beauty which, by some miracle, has been preserved for us.



ILLUSTRATIONS

The succession of the small letters in the plates is *a, b, c*, etc., reading from left to right and from the top to the bottom.

Coloured Plates

I. Peasant's sheep-skin "kožušok" — Jasina.

II. *a—e*) Women's glass-bead necklaces from Neresnice and Jasina (*c, d, e*); *f*) woven stripe for ornamenting a Kirghiz "kibitka".

III. Woman's blouse, ornamented with small cotton crosses — Kobolya Polyana.

IV. *a—c*) Cuffs of women's blouses, flounced, ornamented on the folds with cotton crosses — Volovec.

V. Old type of woman's blouse, ornamented with cotton crosses — Poroškovo.

VI. *a—b*) "Ustavki" of women's blouses embroidered with wool — Jasina.

VII. *a*) "Ustavka" of woman's blouse ornamented with cotton — Rakhovo. *b*) Edge of the broad sleeve of man's blouse ornamented with cotton — Rosuška. *c*) "Ustavka" of woman's blouse embroidered with cotton — Kossovska Polyana.

VIII. *a—c*) Shoulders of women's blouses embroidered with wool — Kobolya Polyana.

IX. Woman's blouse embroidered with cotton crosses — Buština.

X. Shoulders of women's blouses embroidered with cotton crosses from *a*) Lyubna, *b*) Kičurno, *c*) Bystra Vrkhovina.

Other Plates

1. *a—b*) Portion of a wooden carved altar cross from the Hucul area (XVIIth century) showing both sides. From the collection of "Prosvita" in Užhorod.

2. A wooden carved Hucul cross dated 1758 (Jasina).

3. Reverse of the same.

4. *a—b*) Wooden carved Hucul cross, showing both sides (Sokolivki). Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

5. *a—b*) Wooden carved Hucul cross, dated 1827, showing both sides, collection of the Náprstkovo Museum in Prague.

6. *a—b*) Wooden carved Hucul cross (XVIIIth century) showing both sides. Collection of "Prosvita" in Užhorod.

7. *a—b*) Wooden carved Hucul cross (XIXth century) showing both sides. Black Tisa.

8. Wooden carved Hucul cross, dated 1841. Collection of the Náprstkovo Museum in Prague.

9. *a*) Wooden churn with burnt-in ornament. *b*) wooden spinning-wheel with burnt-in ornament — Kossovska Polyana.

10. *a—b*) Shepherd's wooden turned flasks — Black Tisa. *c—d*) Shepherd's wooden carved flasks — Black Tisa.

11. *a—b*) Shepherd's wooden carved flasks (double) — Black Tisa.

12. *a*) Wooden carved cup with a ring, *b*) old large wooden spoon with carved ornament, *c*) smaller wooden spoon, decorated with carving — Jasina.

13. *a*) Bottom and legs of a shepherd's wooden carved flask, *b*) wooden butter-box with burnt-in ornament — Black Tisa.

14. *a*) Wooden churn, *b*) wooden bowl for milk, decorated with a burnt-in pattern — Jasina.

15. *a—c*) Hucul wooden axes, ornamented with carving and burnt-in decoration, *d*) old carved spindle — Jasina.

16. *a—d*) Hucul (Galician) maces with metal heads. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

17. *a—b*) Hucul (Galician) bronze powder-horns, decorated with engraving, a beaten-in design and incrustations of mother-of-pearl. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

18. *a—d*) Hucul (Galician) bronze objects with engraved patterns: needle-case, nut-crackers, awl, buckle. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

19. Hucul (Galician) bronze breast crosses. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

20. Hucul (Galician) leather wallet, decorated with stamped ornament in the form of crosses and open circles. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

21. Hucul (Galician) leather wallet decorated with beaten-in ornament. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

22. Hucul (Galician) powder-horn made out of a horn, bound with copper with beaten-in ornamentation. Collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Prague.

23. *a—e*) Hucul (Galician) wooden carved wine glasses partly incrustated with bored beads ("ko-ralki"). Collection of the Náprstkovo Museum in Prague.

24. Wooden objects from the Vrkhovina: *a*) carved goblet for water — Roztoky Vyšní, *b—e*) milk-pail, butter-boxes, flask — Volovec.

25. Wooden objects from the Vrkhovina: *a*) shelf for spoons — Rozvigovo, *b—d*) wall salt-cellar ornamented with carving, small salt-cellar with moveable lid, carved spoon — Zborovec.

26. *a—e*) Distaffs ornamented with carving — Voročovo-on-the-Turia.

27. Wooden objects: *a*) churn-staff — Kostrina, *b—c*) carved spindles — Kostrina, *d*) large spoon for milk — Jasina, *e*) small spoon — Kostrina, *f*) spoon with carved handle — Lyubna.

28. Wooden reed-pipes: *a—b*) Vyšna Apša, *c*) Širokoye, *d*) Kostrina.

29. *a—b*) Wooden candlesticks ornamented with carving and burnt-in designs.

30. *a—h*) Painted Easter eggs — District of Neresnice-on-the-Terešva.

31. *a—h*) Id.

32. *a*) Painted Easter eggs — Rakhovo, *b*) woollen woven material for "zapaski" — Jasina.

33. *a—b*) Old carved three-branched candlestick, seen from two sides. Collection of "Prosvita" in Užhorod.

34. Easter cakes — Jasina.

35. *a—b*) Plates for Easter cakes, decorated with burnt-in ornamentation — Kossovka Poljana.

36. Carved altar gates, gilded, from the destroyed church in Šašvari.

37. Wayside shrine near Iršava.

38. *a*) Wooden church with belfry — Krainikovo, *b*) wooden church — Sola.

39. Old wooden church in Šelestov.

40. Wooden church in Lazeščina — Jasina.

41. *a—e*) Pottery from Khust by unknown makers, *f—h*) plates and a pot made by Janoš Profesur — Sevlyuš.

42. *a*) Embroidery from woman's skirt — Prislop, *b—c*) jug and pot made by Vasiliy Lenovič — Khust.

43. *a—c*) Plates by unknown Užhorod makers, *d*) pot made by Stefan Grevnyak — Užhorod, *e*) pot made by Janoš Pyuspěka — Sevlyuš, *f*) pot made by Bembovik — Užhorod.

44. *a—c*) Pottery from Khust by unknown makers, *d*) plate by an unknown maker — Užhorod.

45. *a—c*) Pottery from Khust by unknown makers, *d*) plate by an unknown maker — Užhorod.

46. *a—c*) Old jugs of Galician origin. Collection of "Prosvita" in Užhorod.

47. *a—c*) Id.
48. *a—d*) Hucul plates of Calician origin.
49. Annulated vessel of 'Galician origin -- Jasina.
50. *a*) Homespun wallet — Jasina, *b*) homespun "taistra" — Vyšna Apša.
51. Woman's blouse — Rosuška.
52. *a*) Woman's blouse (sewn underneath) — Lyubna, *b*) man's shirt (bottom of town cut) — Rosuška.
53. *a*) Man's shirt — Lyubna, *b*) short woman's blouse — Volovec.
54. Long woman's blouse — Bereznik.
55. Men's "postoli" (without heels) — Dolga.
56. *a*) Hucul women from Jasina, *b*) leather belt — Jasina.
57. *a*) Girl with "besaga" — Černa, *b*) peasant woman from Černa, *c*) girls with wreaths — Vnigovo.
58. *a*) Girls with wreaths — Koločava, *b*) married women — do.
59. *a*) Married woman — Volovoye, *b*) peasant — Černa.
60. Woman with child — Iza.
61. Married woman in holiday dress — Iza.
62. Girls — Košelev.
63. *a*) Bride's head-dress — Iza, — *b*) dressing of girl's hair — Košelev.
64. Betrothed girl in holiday dress — Iza.
65. Girls — Nižne Selišče.
66. Caps: *a*) Bystra Vrkhovina, *b*) Poroškovo, *c*) Lyubna, *d—e*) Užok, *f*) Volovec.
67. Wreaths: *a*) Volovec, *b—c*) Neresnice, *d*) Niagovo.
68. *a—c*) Embroidered breast pieces from children's and women's blouses — Volovec.
69. *a—e*) Necklaces — Volovec.
70. *a—b*) Embroidered "ustavki" from the sleeves of women's blouses.
71. *a—c*) Id.
72. *a—c*) Id.
73. *a—c*) Id.
74. *a—d*) Embroidery from the sleeves of women's blouses — Kossovská Polyana.
75. *a—d*) Embroideries from the sleeves of women's blouses — Kobolya Polyana.
76. *a—d*) Embroideries from the sleeves of women's blouses — Bogdan-on-the-Tisa.
77. "Ustavki" in the form of small crosses from the sleeves of women's blouses. *a—d*) Jasina, *e*) Kossovská Polyana.
78. *a—b*) "Zaspulnitsi", embroidered with crosses, from the sleeves of women's blouses — Nižni Sinevir.
79. *a—b*) "Zaspulnitsi", seen from the right and the left side, from the sleeves of women's blouses — Nižni Sinevir.
80. *a*) Sleeve of a woman's blouse embroidered in the "simple" style — Lepša Polyana, *b*) sleeve of a woman's blouse embroidered with quilting — Gorinčevo.
81. Sleeve of a woman's blouse embroidered with crosses — Nižni Sinevir.
82. Embroidered cuffs of blouses: *a—b*) Poroškovo, *c*) Turia Bystra, *d*) Poroškovo, *e*) Plockoye, *f—g*) Golubinoye.
83. *a—c*) Man's shirt embroidered on the collar, breast, and cuffs with black crosses — Lyubna, *d*) breast of man's shirt embroidered with crosses — Poroškovo.
84. *a—c*) Sleeves of women's blouses embroidered with crosses — Soločino.
85. *a—b*) Embroidered sleeves of women's blouses — Poroškovo, *c—d*) embroidery on cuffs of shirts in the form of crosses — Golubinoye, *e*) Id. — Poroškovo.
86. Sleeves of women's blouses embroidered with crosses: *a—c*) Guklivoye, *d*) Volovec.

87. Shoulder pieces of women's shirts embroidered with crosses: *a—b*) Vyšniye Verecki, *c—d*) Kičurno.

88. Shoulder pieces of women's blouses embroidered with crosses, *a*) Volovec, *b*) Guklivoye, *c*) Volovec, *d*) Abranka, *e*) Podobovec, *f*) Lozanskoye, *g*) Guklivoye.

89. *a—c*) Woven towels — Velikiye Lučki.

90. Sleeves of women's blouses embroidered with crosses: *a*) Stuzice, *b*) Lyuta, *c*) Bystra Vrkhovina, *d*) Lyuta.

91. Sleeves of women's blouses embroidered with crosses: *a*) Bystra Vrkhovina, *b*) Nova Stuzice, *c*) Lyuta.

92. Woven towels: *a*) Neresnice, *b*) Zarice.

93. Id: *a—b*) Lozanskoye, *c—d*) Koločava.

94. Id: *a—b*) Velikiy Bočkov, *c—d*) Uglya.

95. Id: *a—b*) Kamenice, *c*) Nevickoye.

96. Woven tablecloths — district of Užhorod.

97. Caucasian smooth carpet from Šuša in the Government of Elizabeth, *b*) old Caucasian "mafraš":

98. Caucasian carpets, *a*) Kurd "yamani", *b*) old Caucasian carpet from Šuša in the Government of Elizabeth.

99. *a—c*) Russian embroideries from Central Russia.

100. *a—e*) Women's bead necklaces from Central Russia.











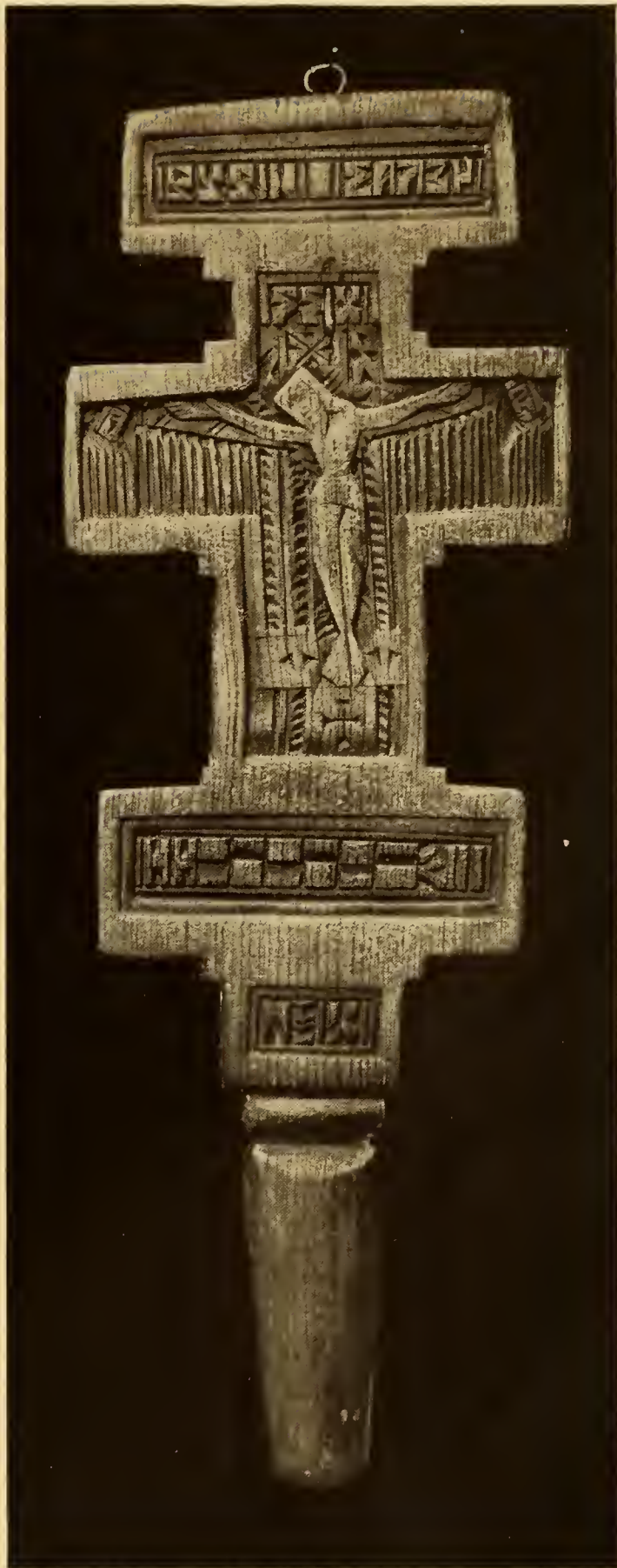
56



4a—b





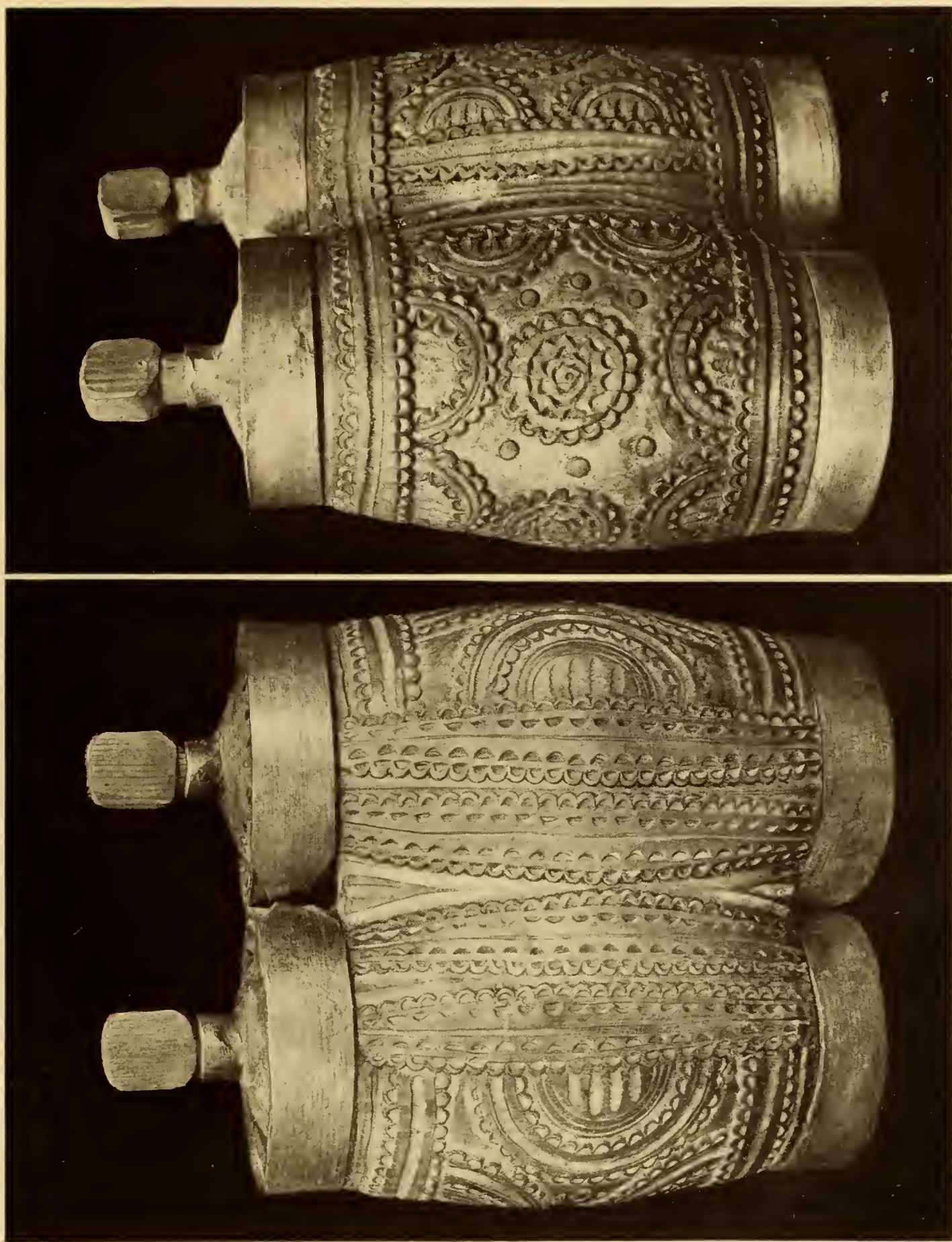








10a—d



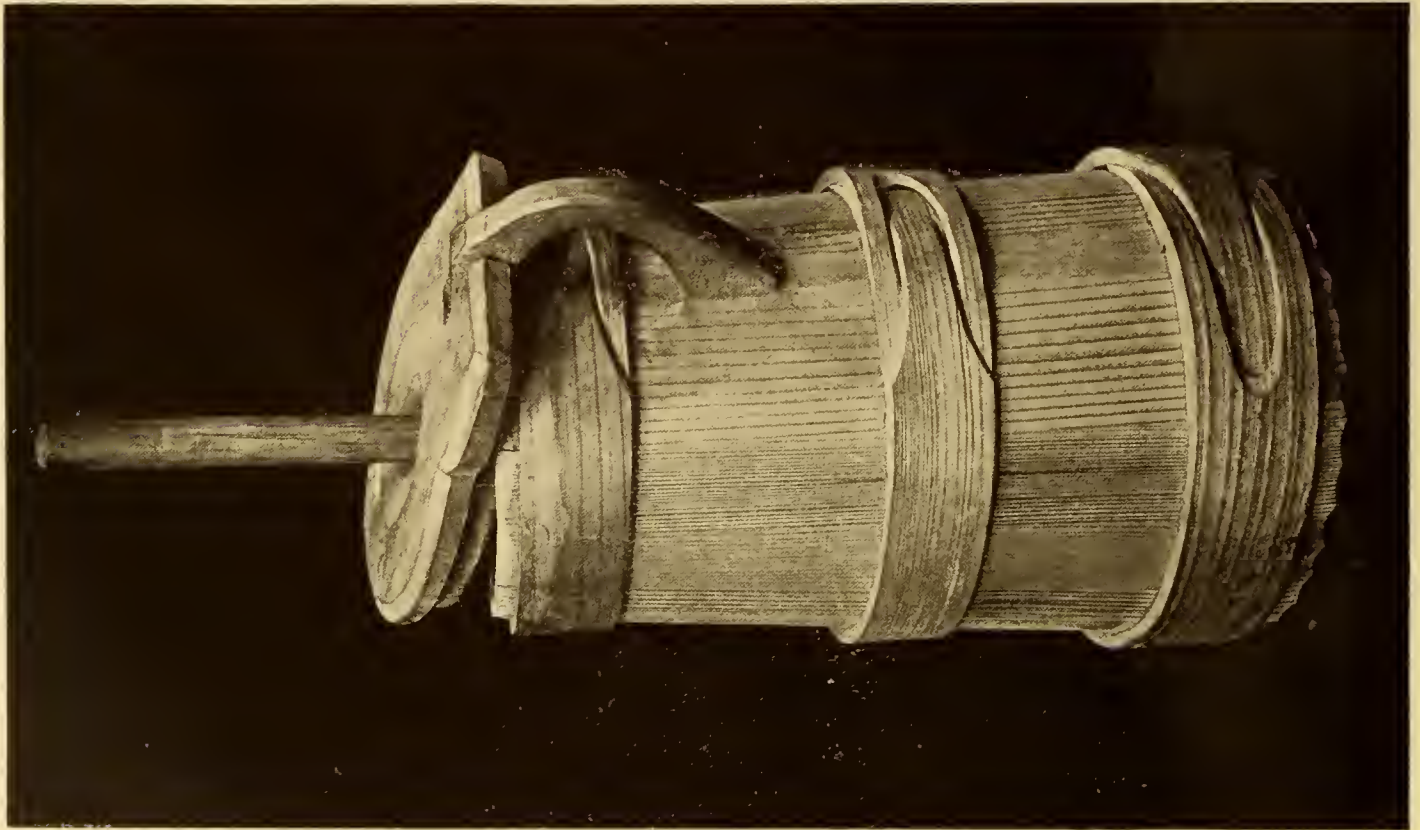
11a—b



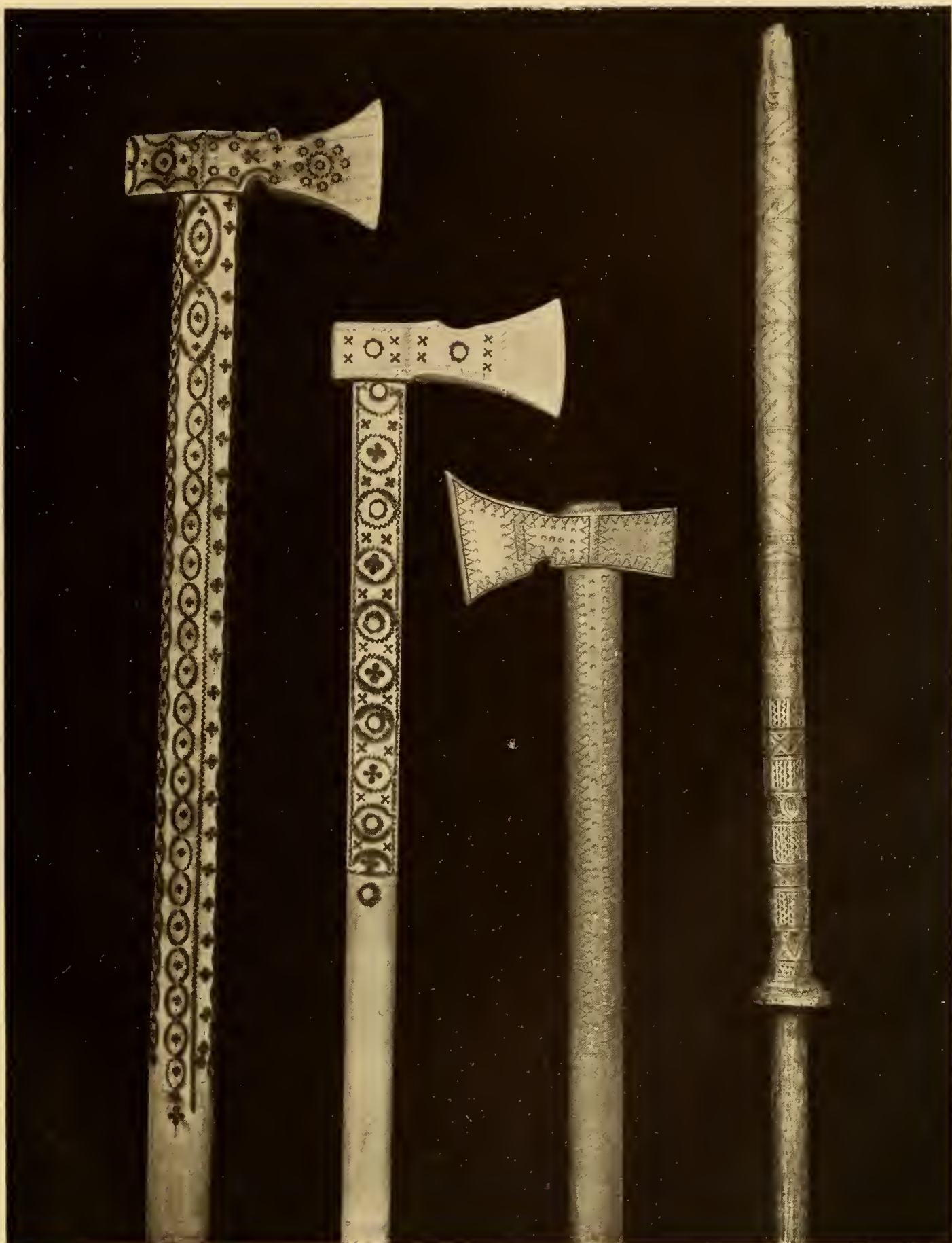
12a—c



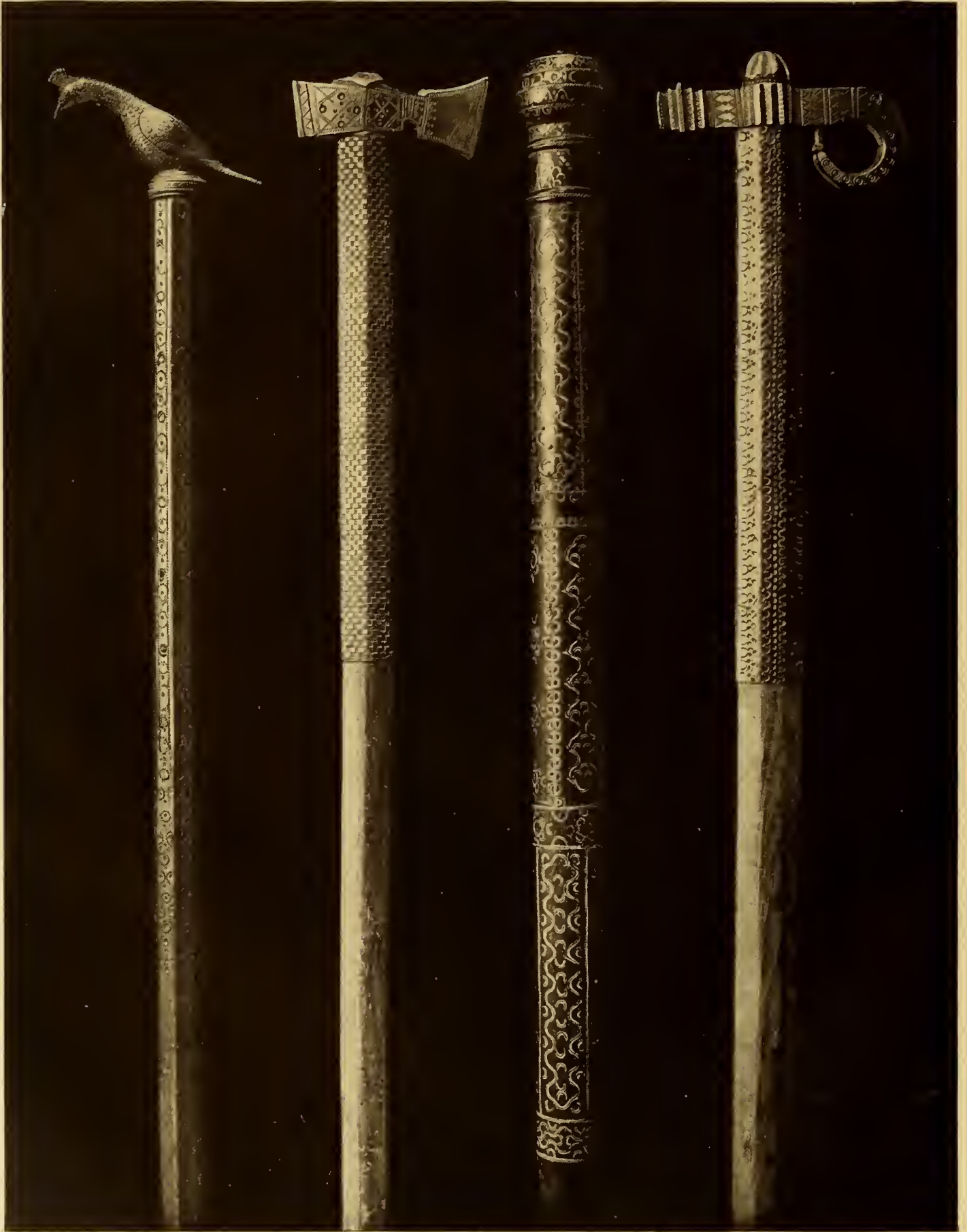
13a—b

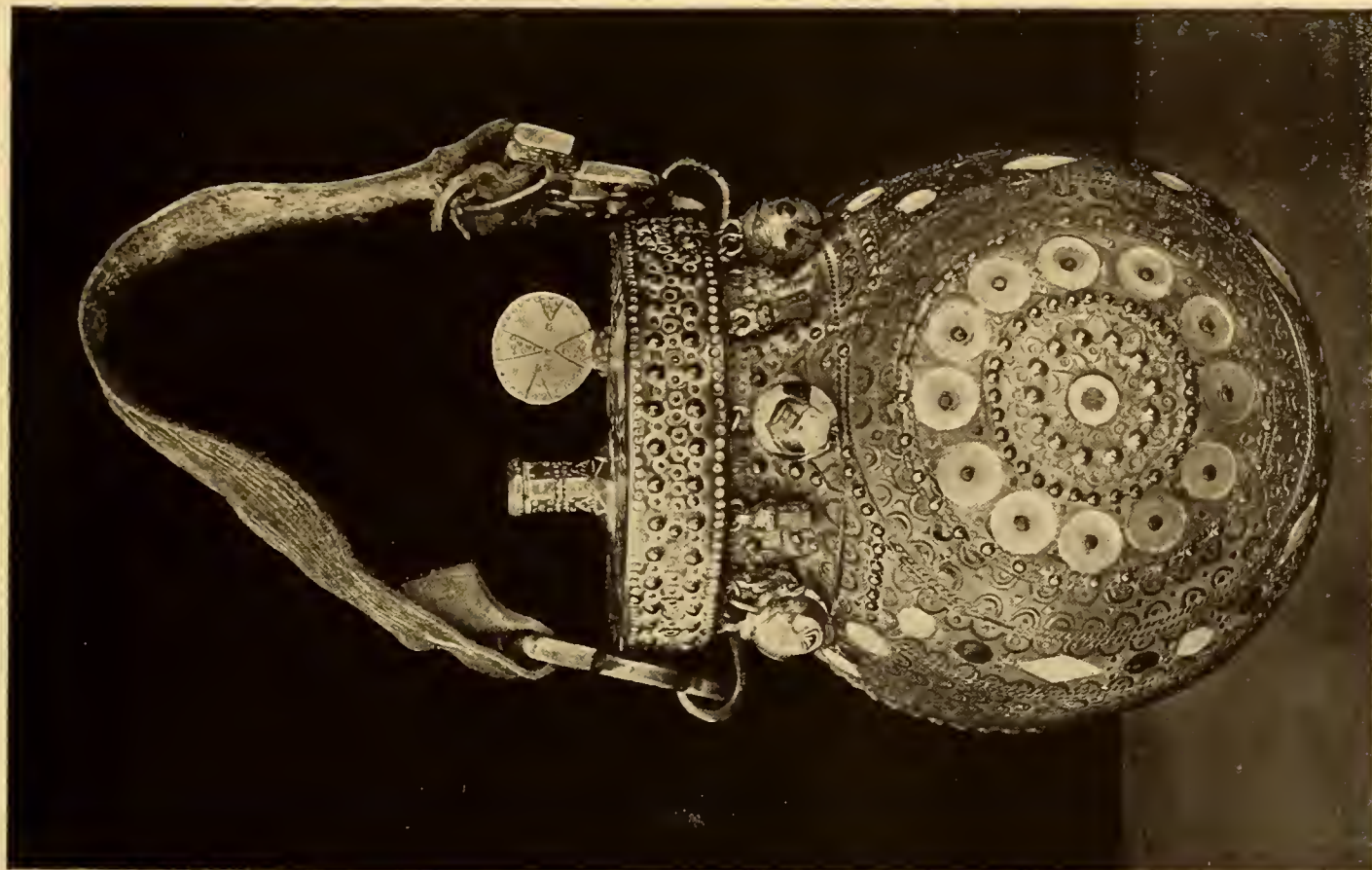


14a—b

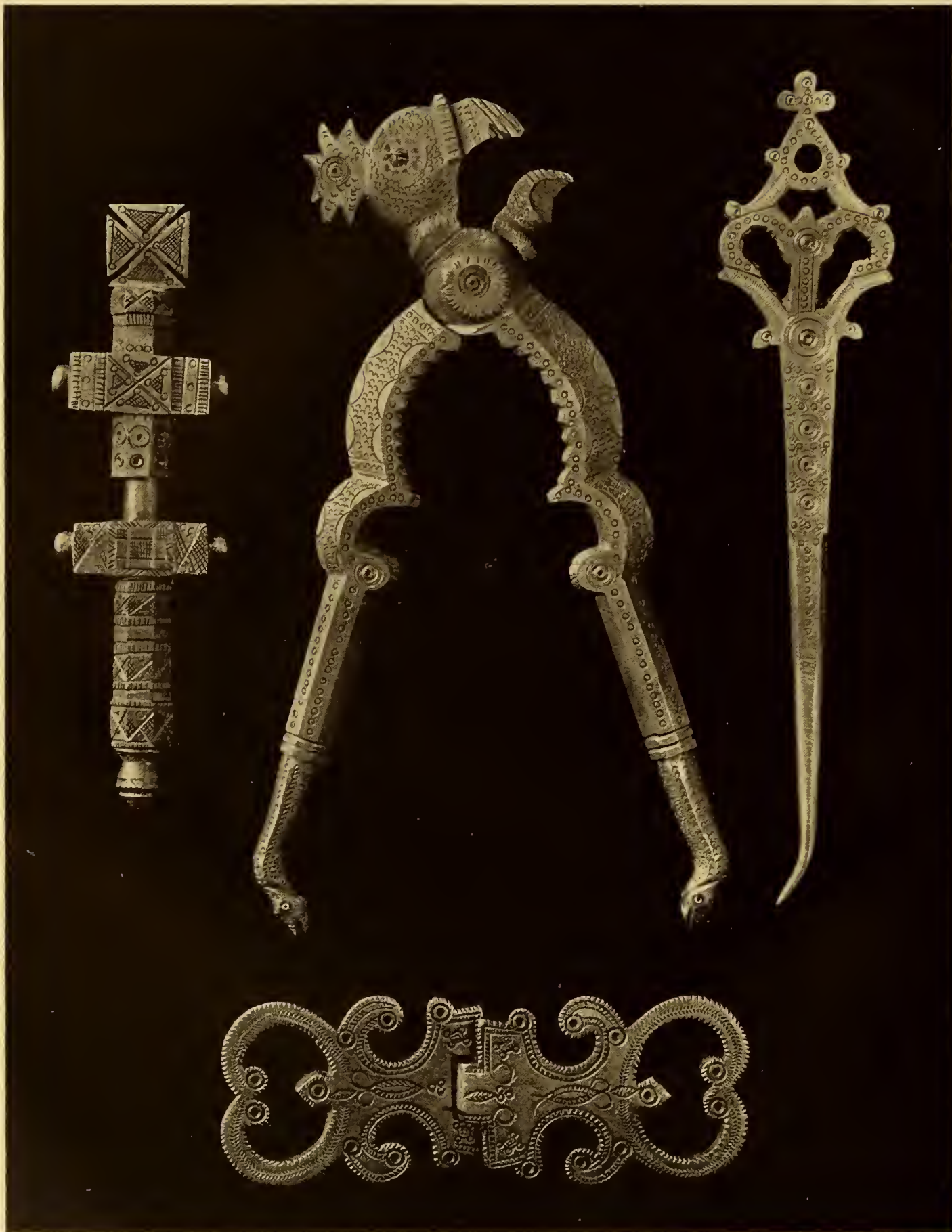


15a—d





17 a—b















24 a—c



25 a—d





27a--f

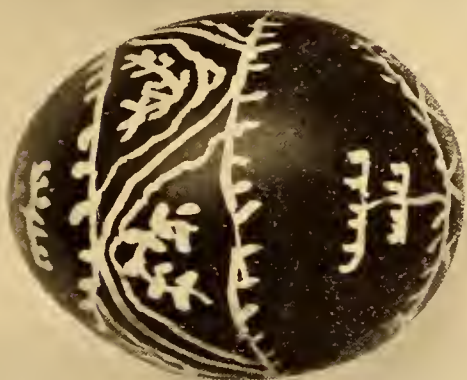


28 a—d

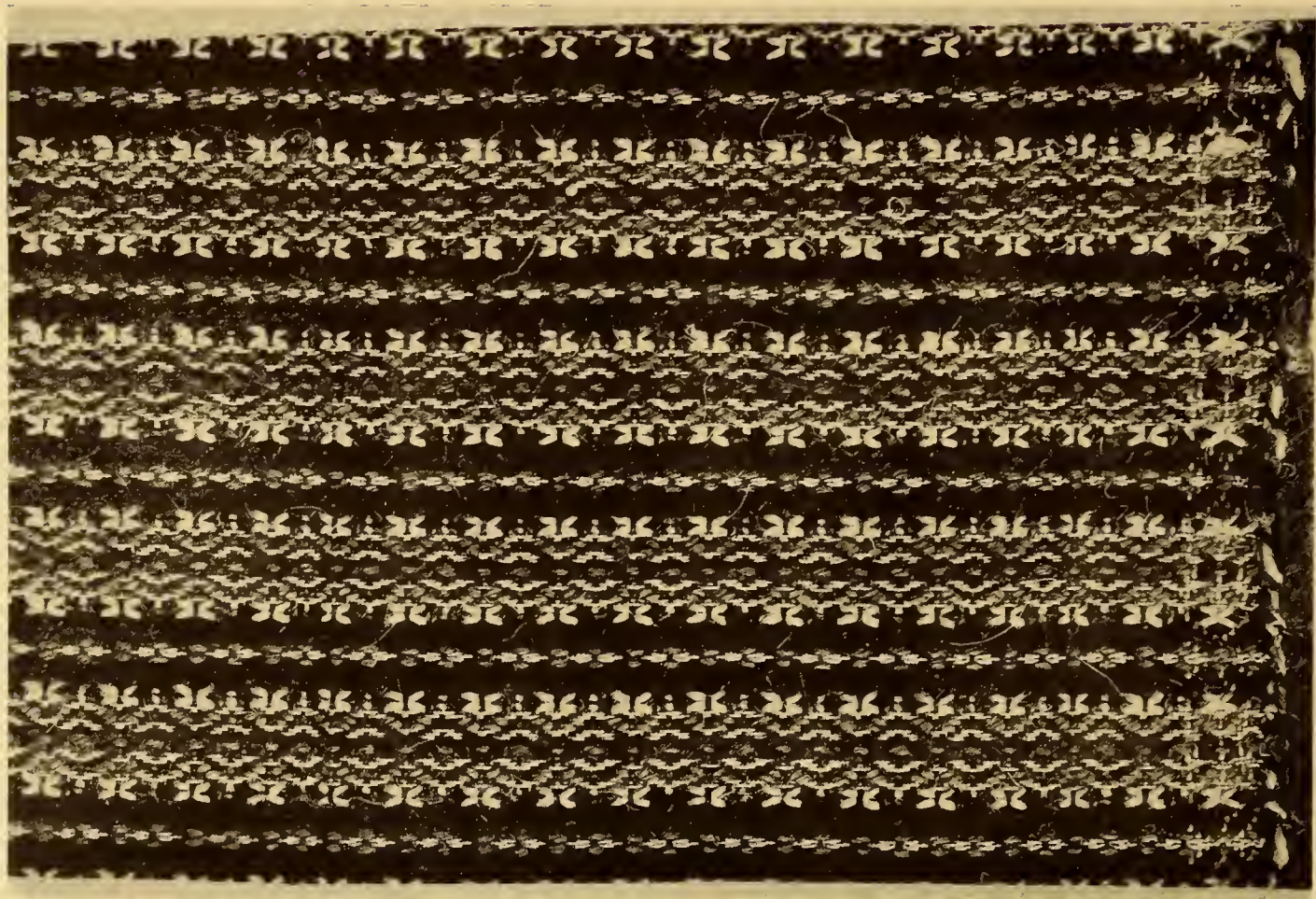


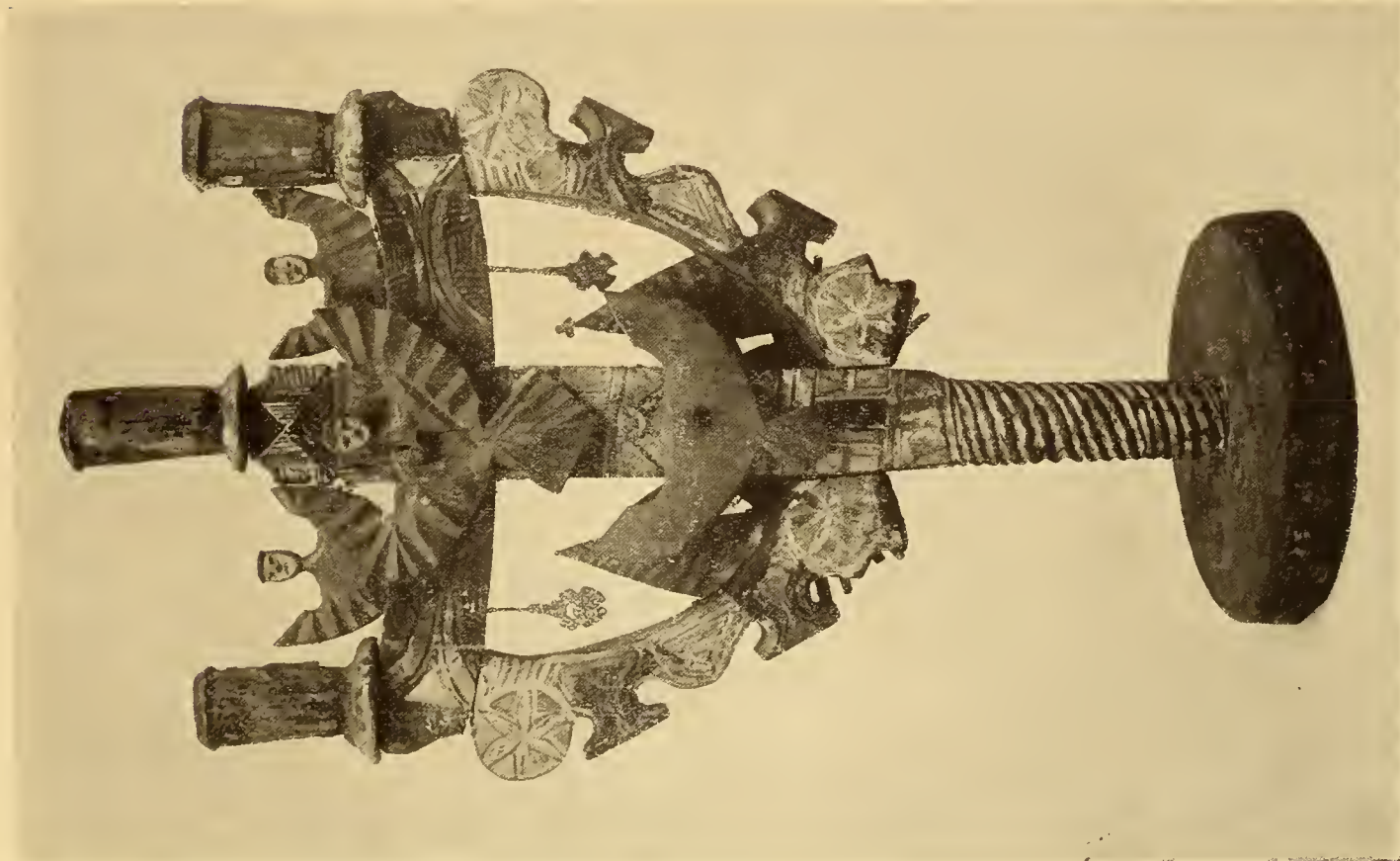
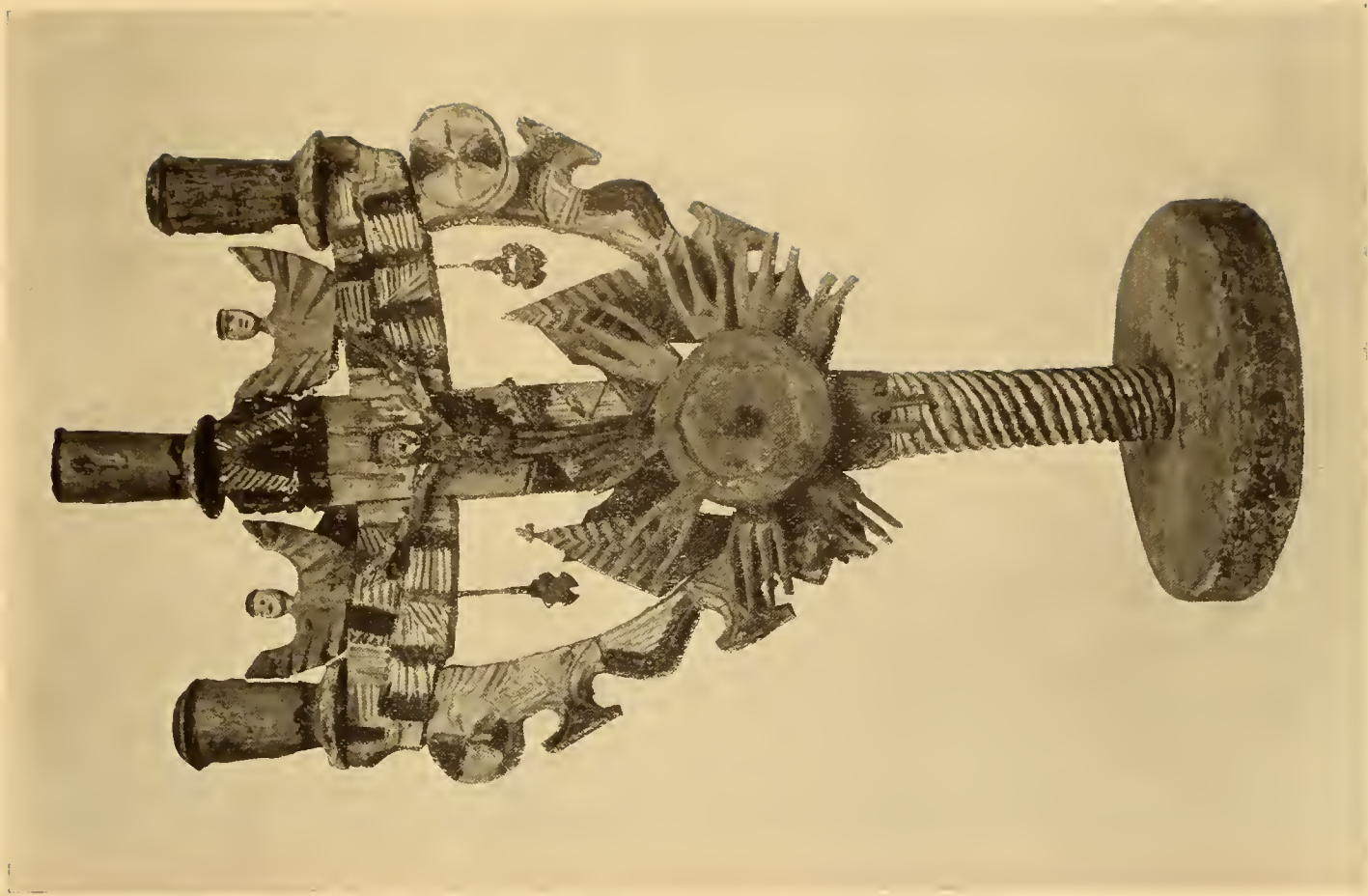
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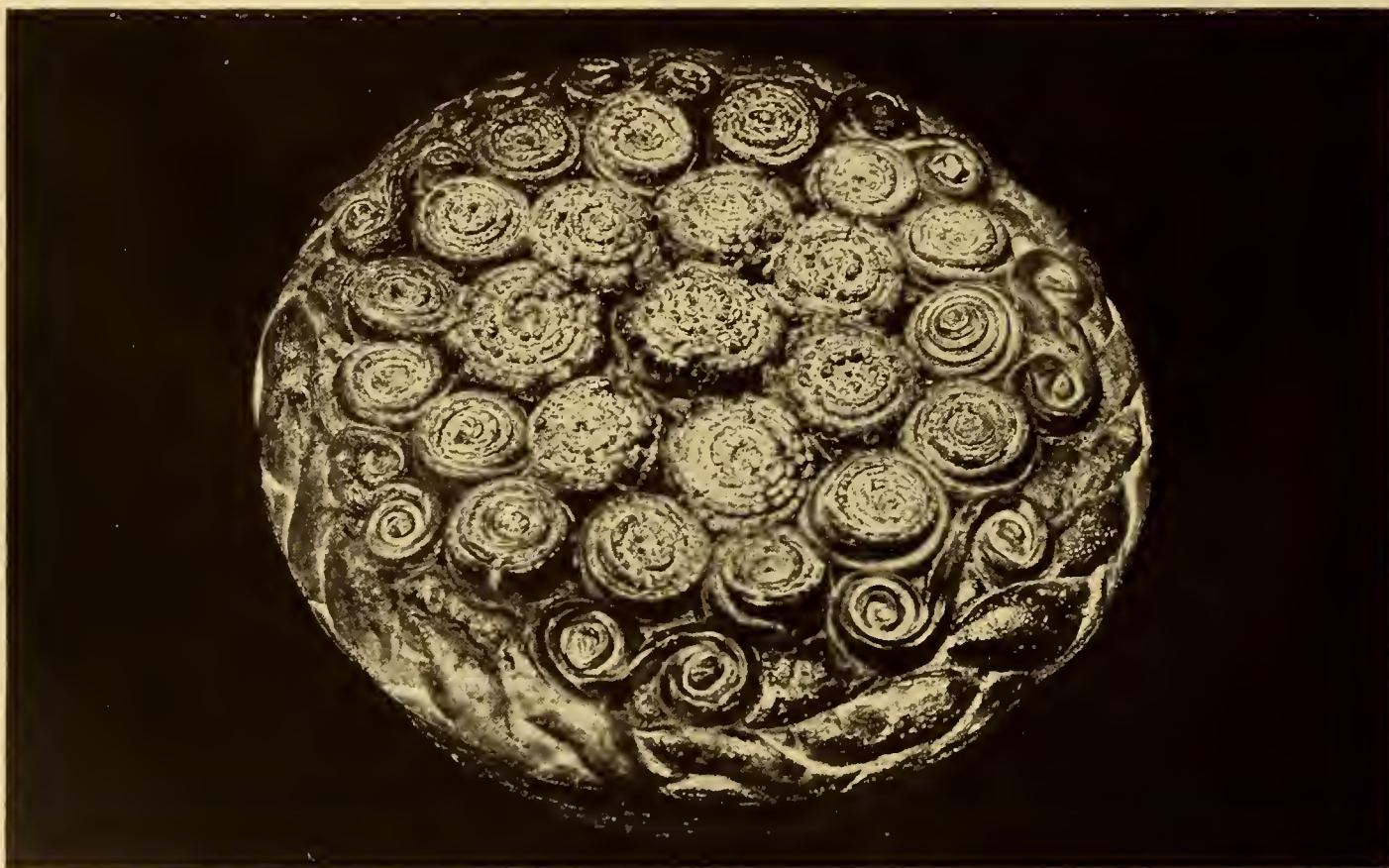


31a—h





33 a—b





35a—b







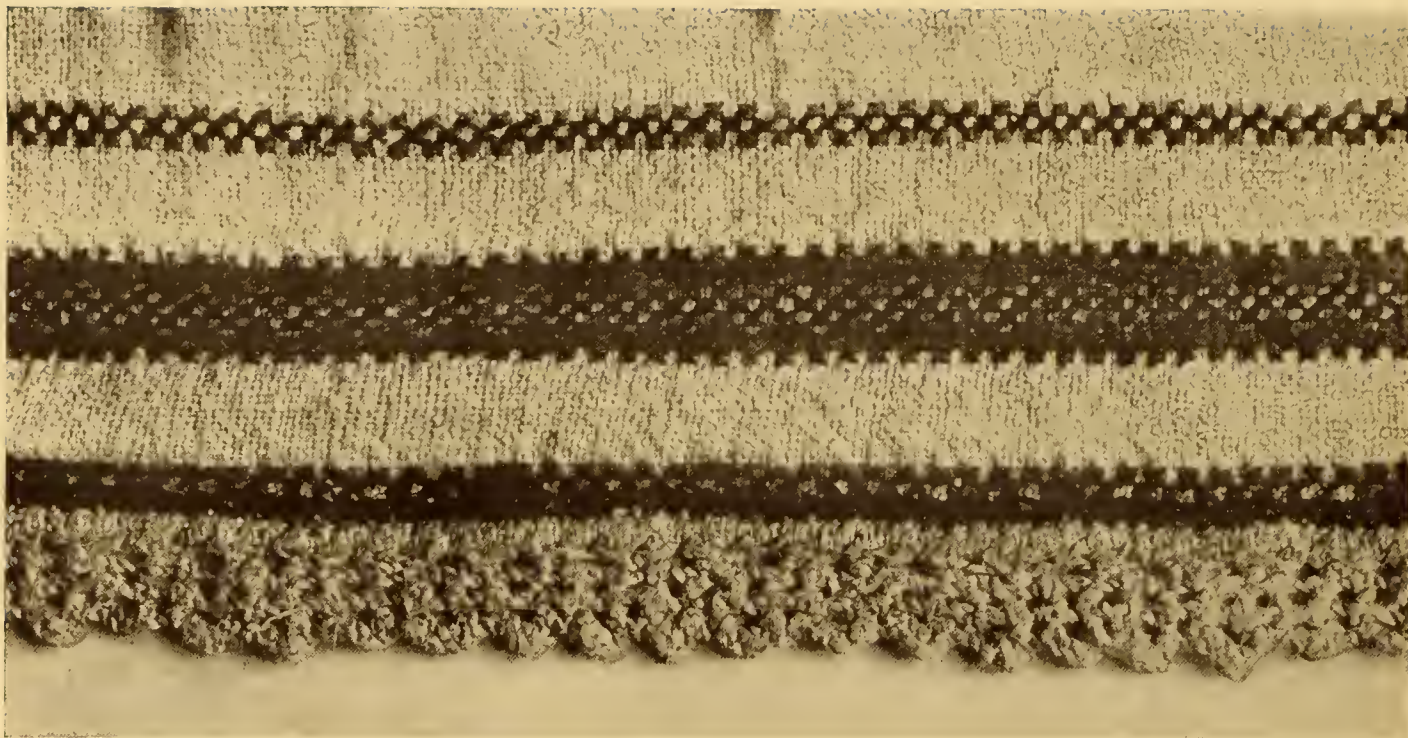






41a-h

93





43a—f





45a— d



46 a—c



47 a—c

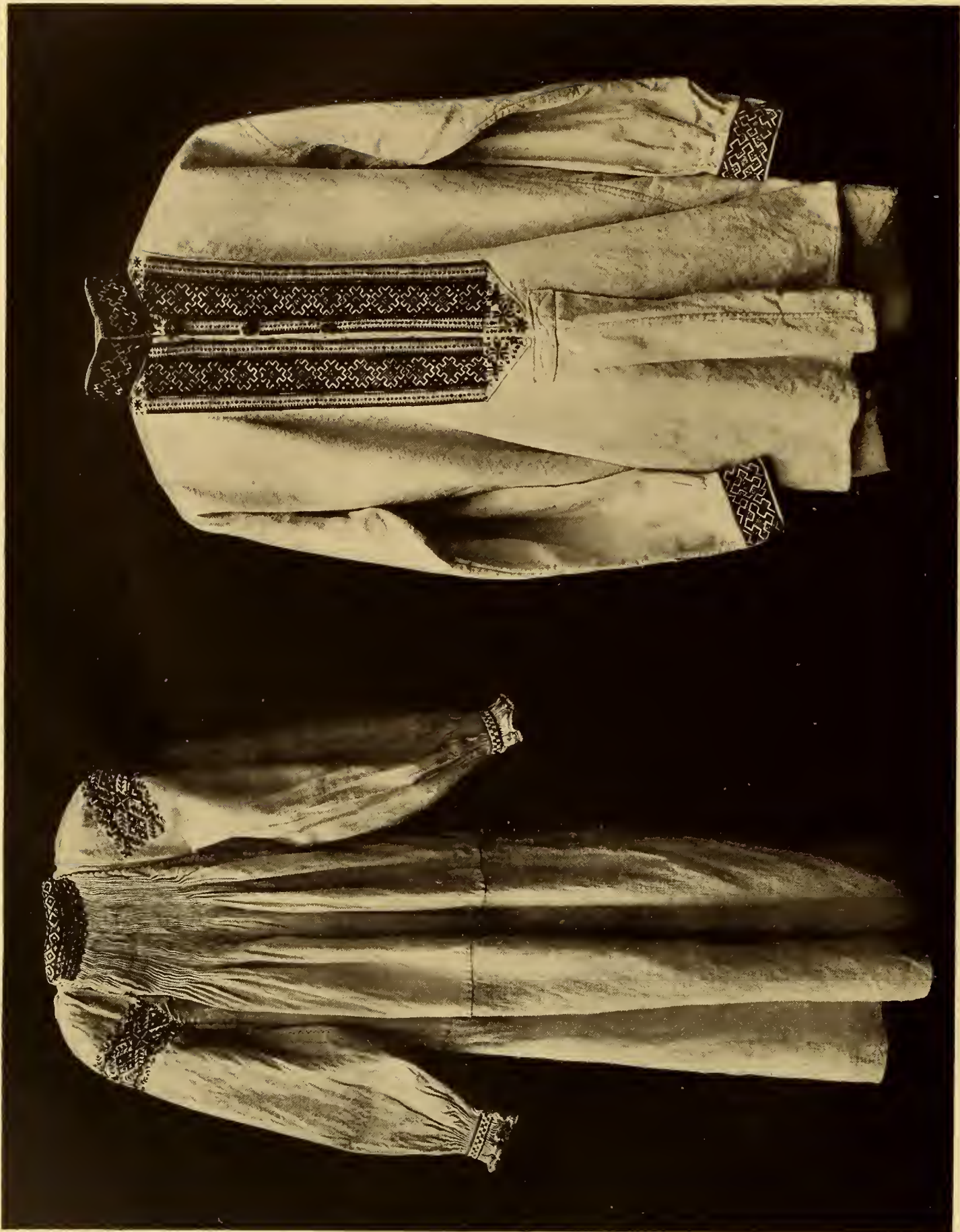






50 a—b





52a—b



53.—b











58a—b



59a---b











63a—b

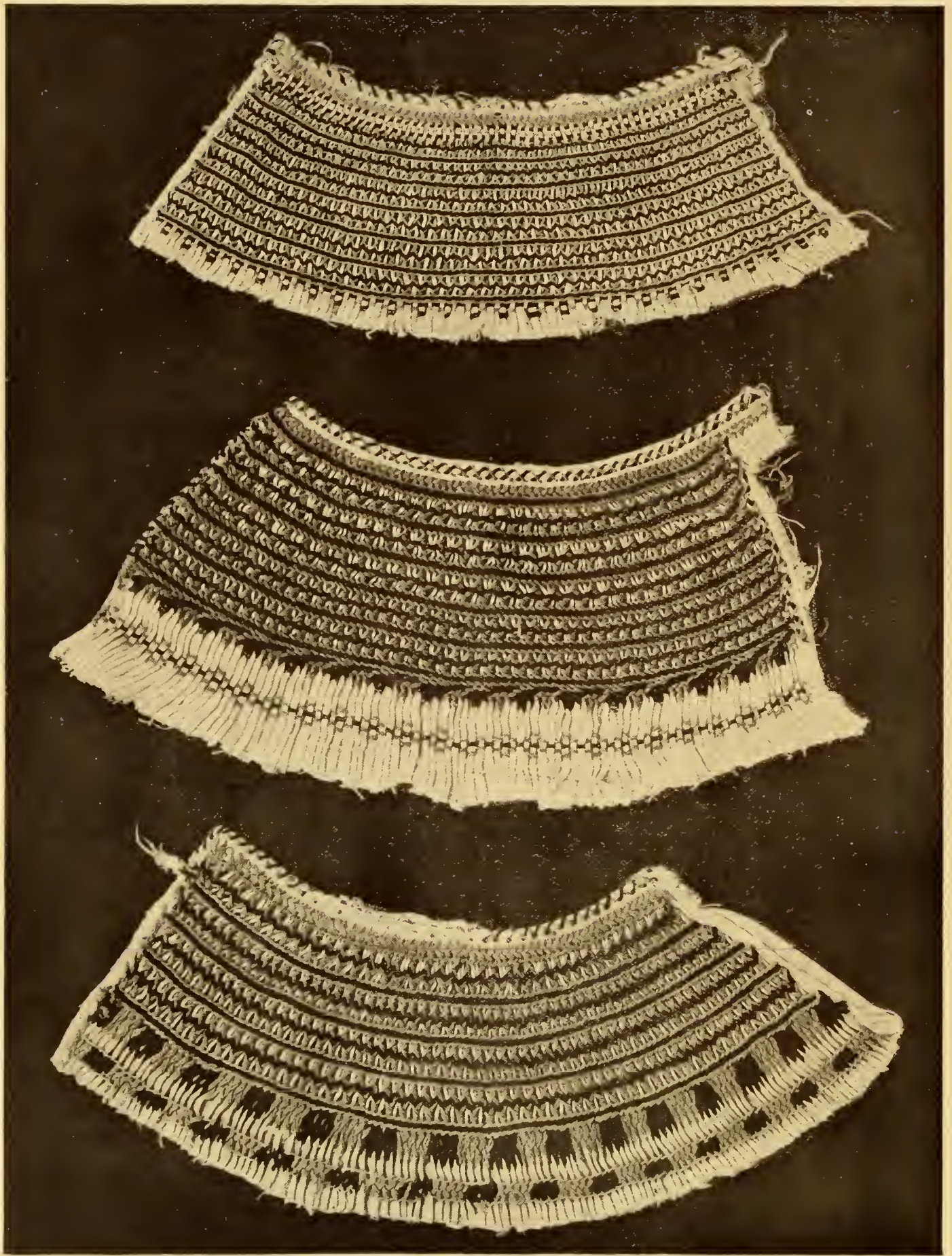


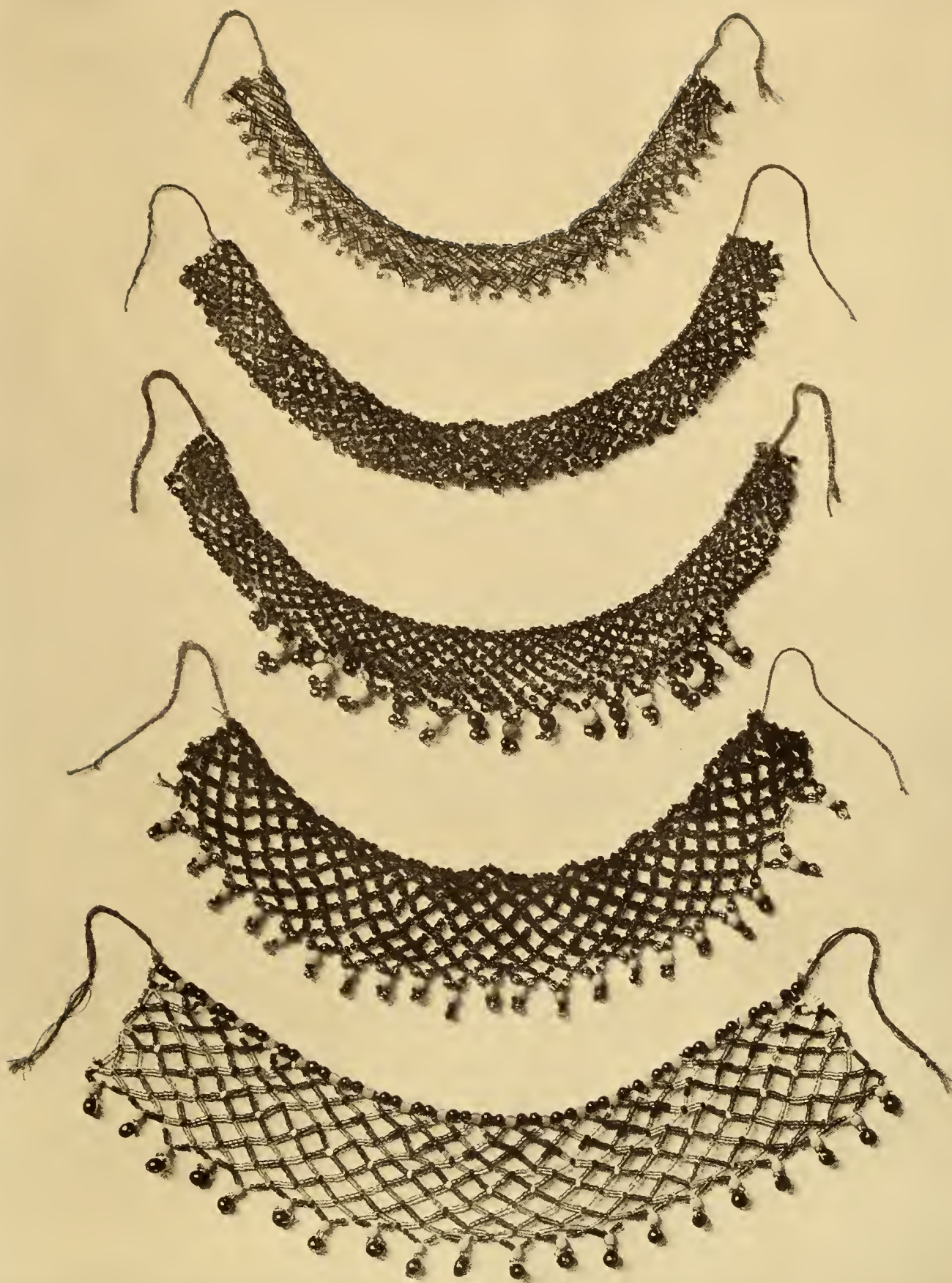




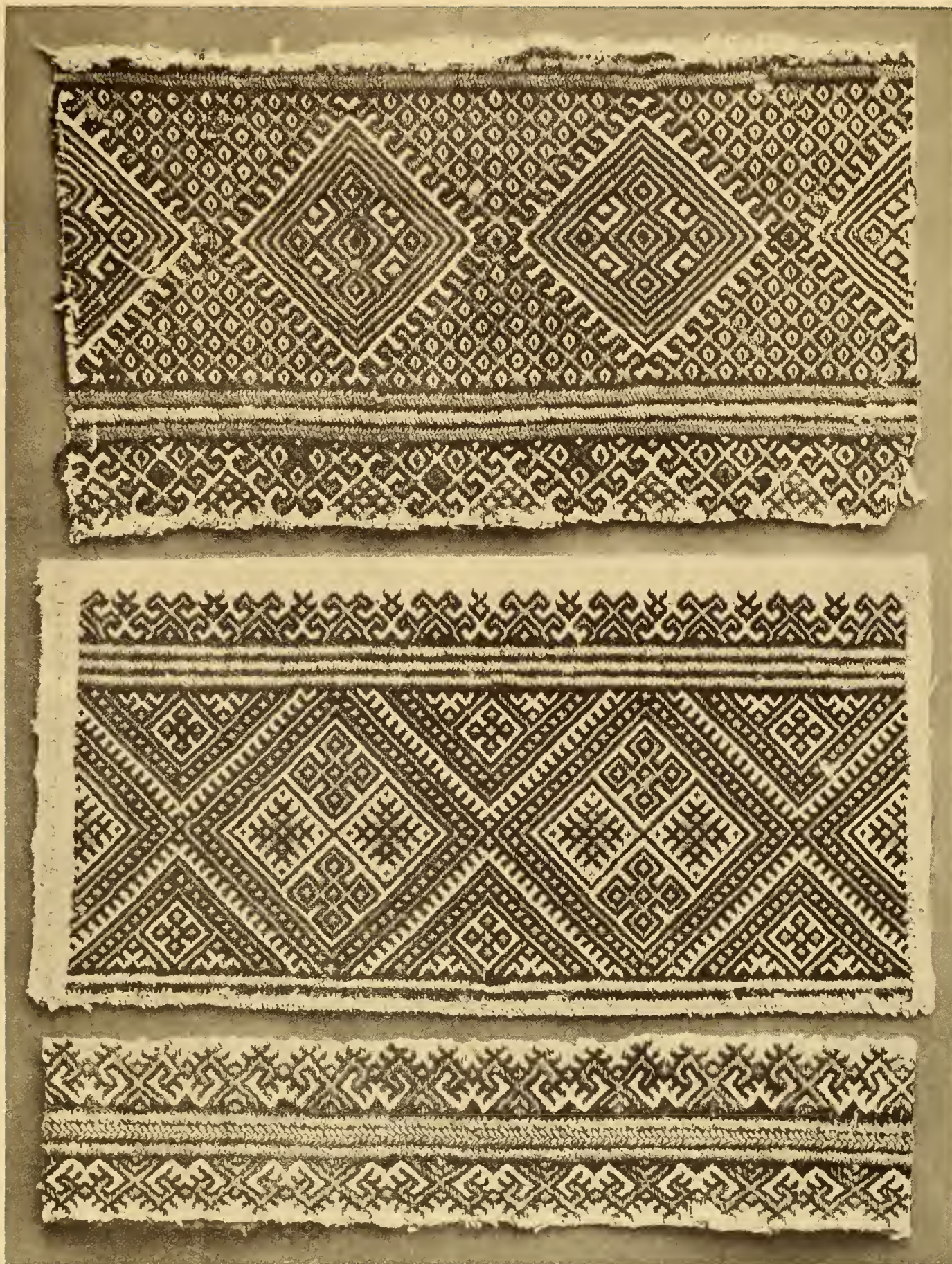


67 a—d

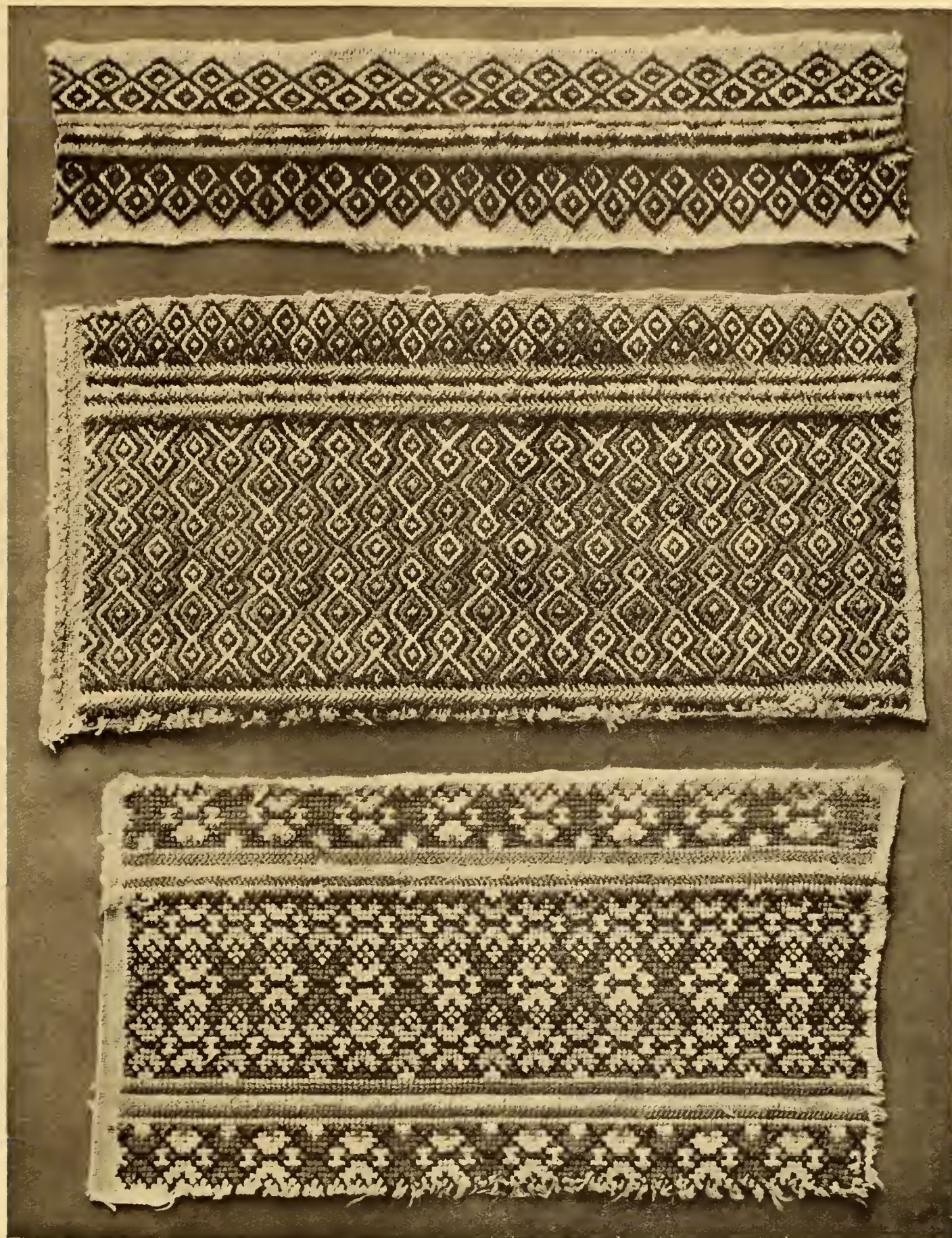


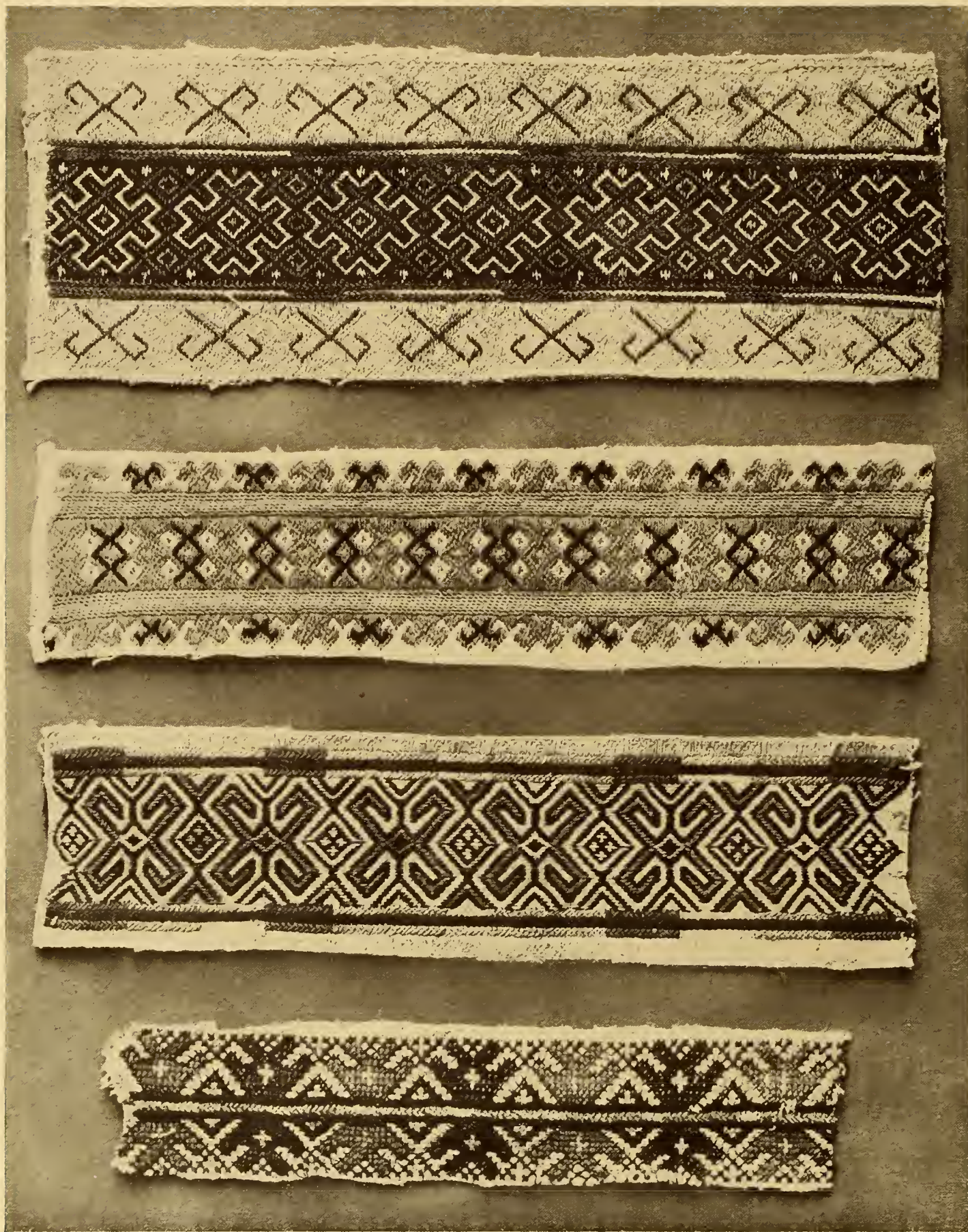






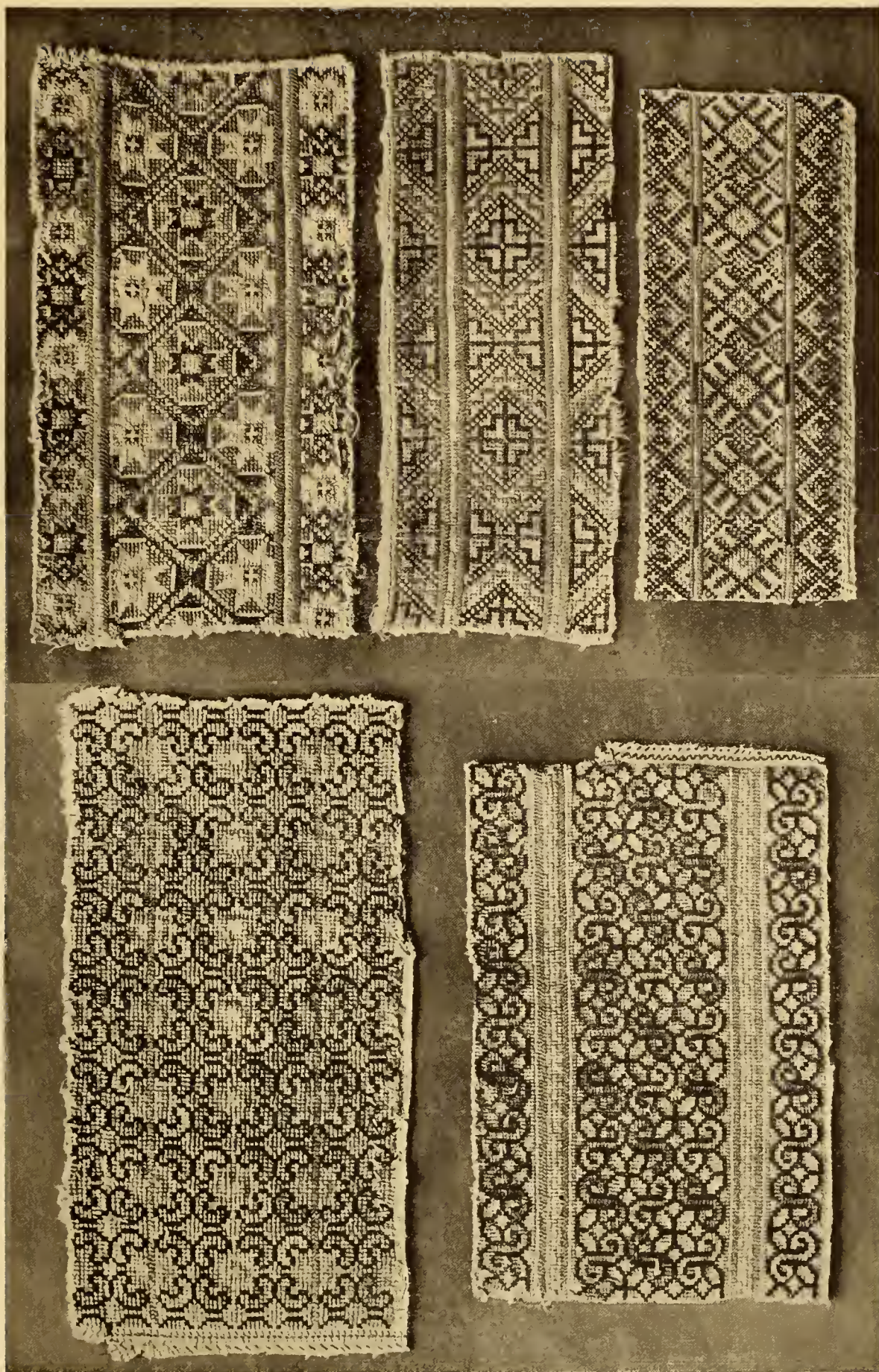




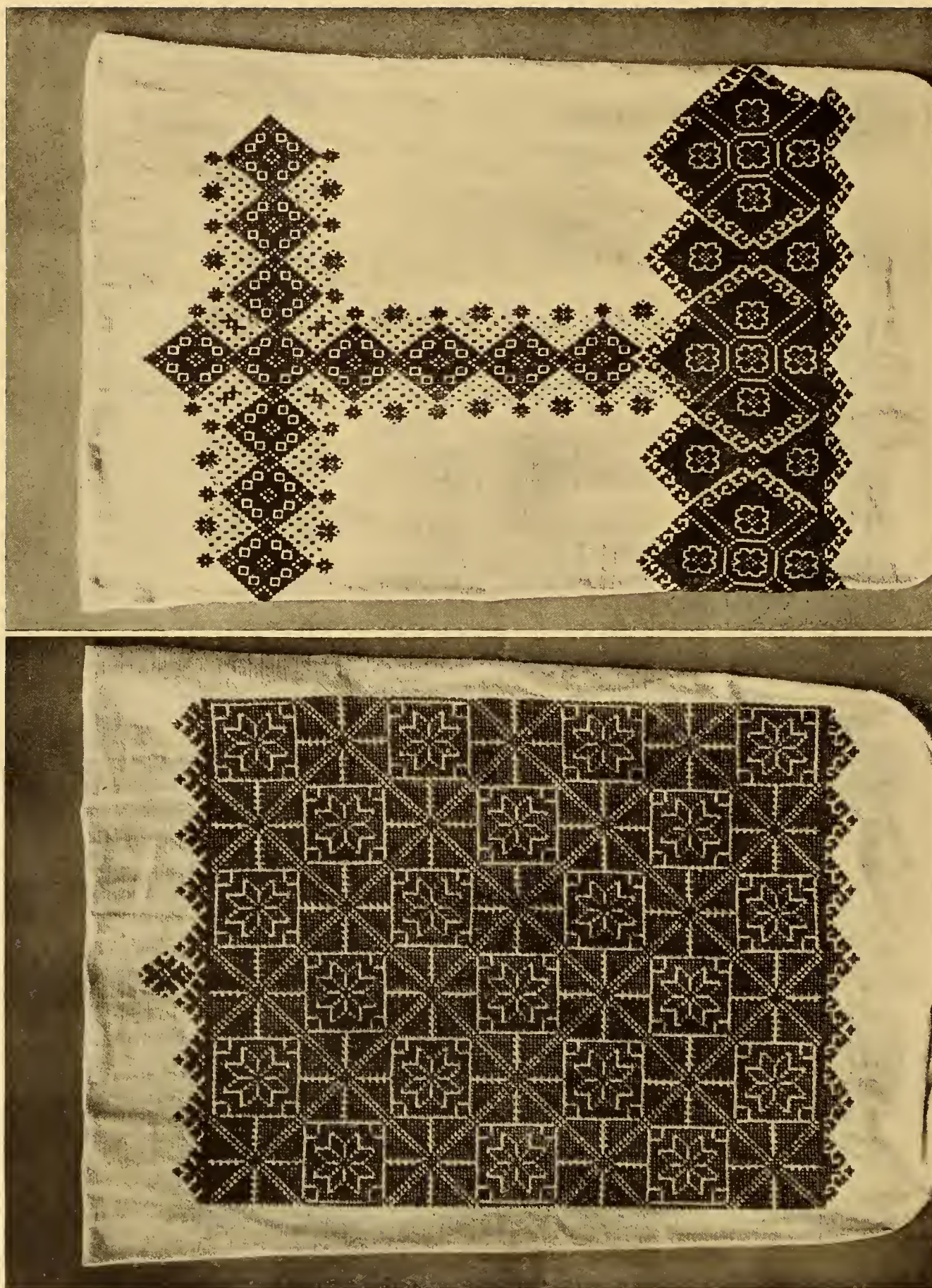




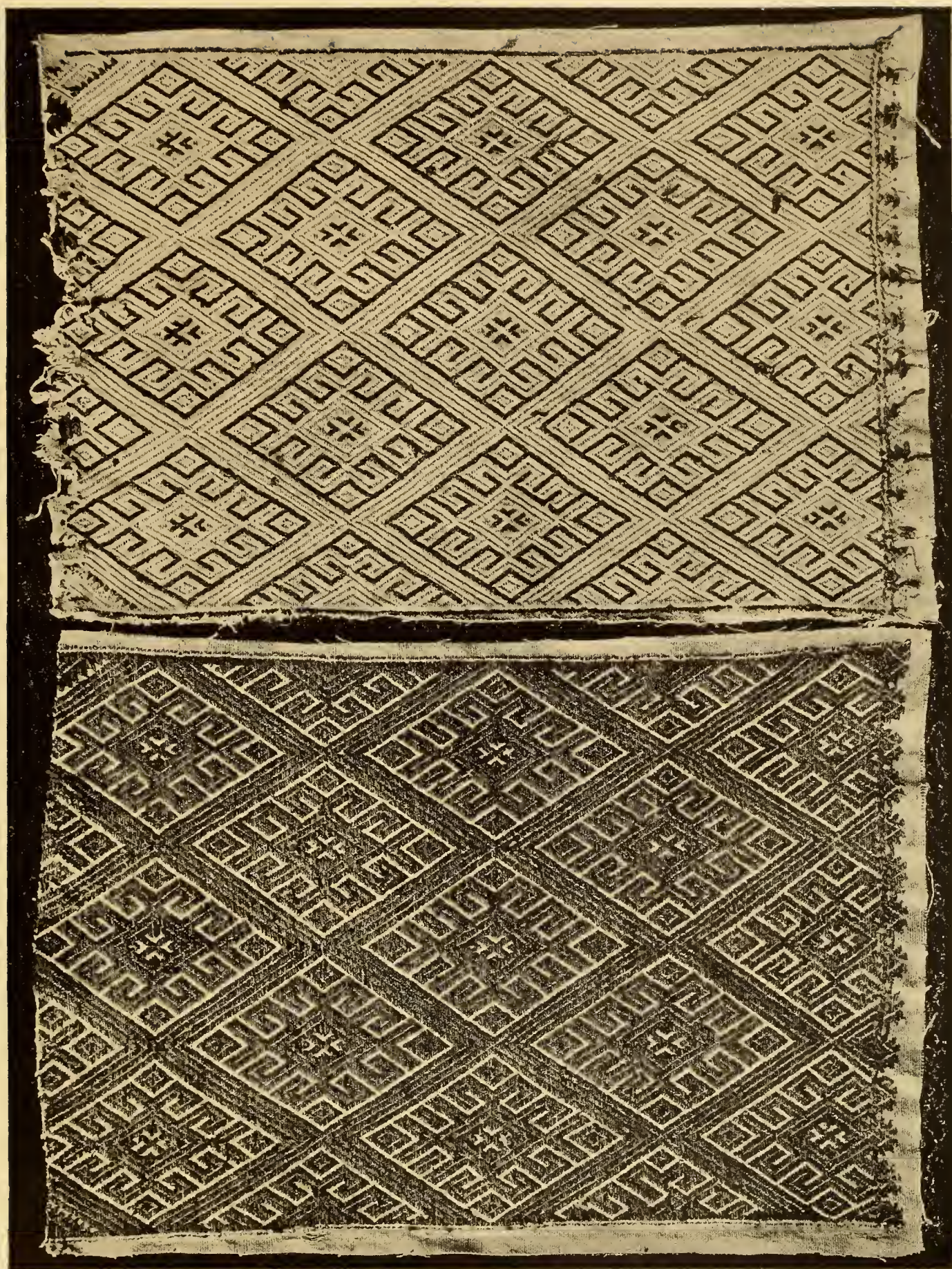




77 a--c



78 a—b



79 a—b

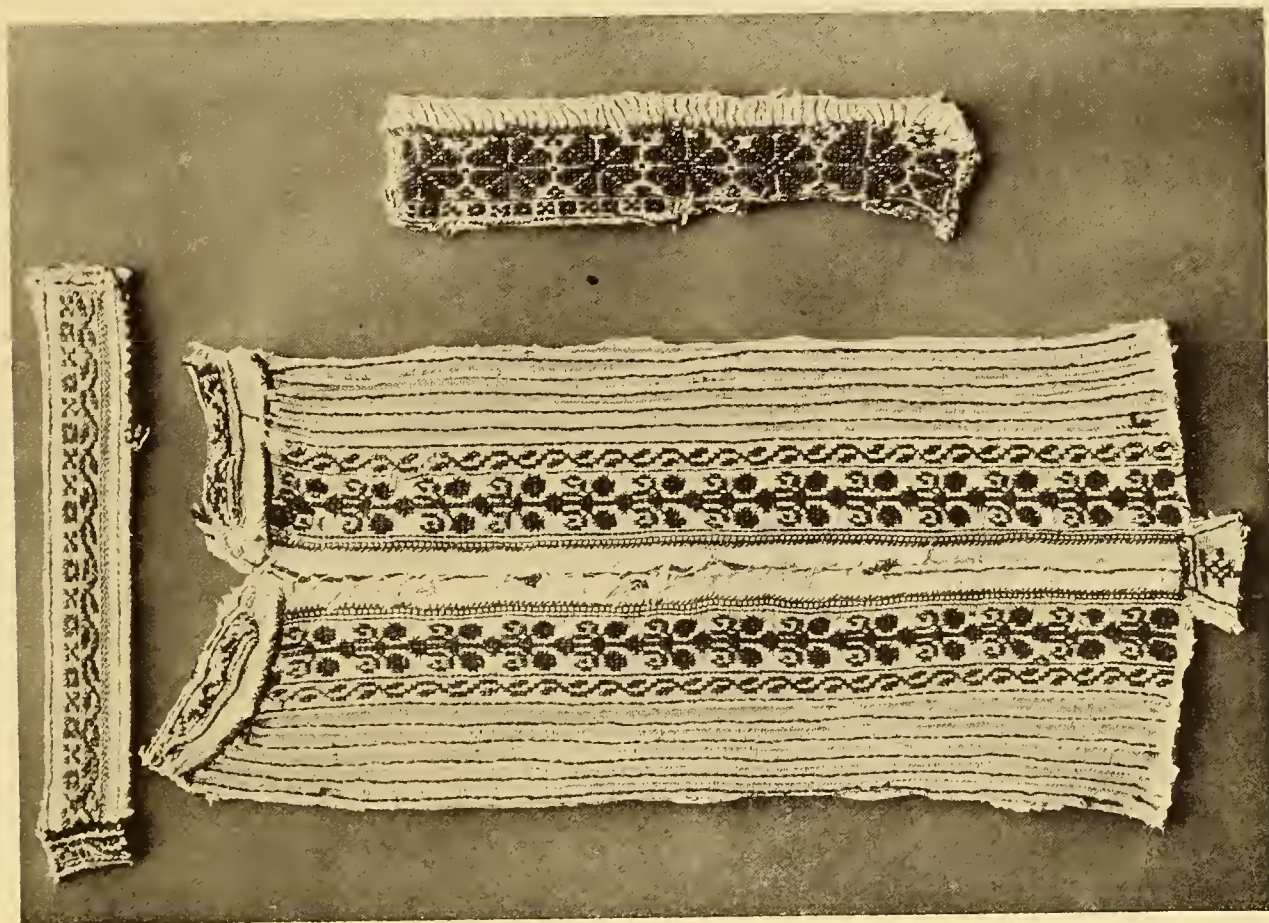


q—a 03



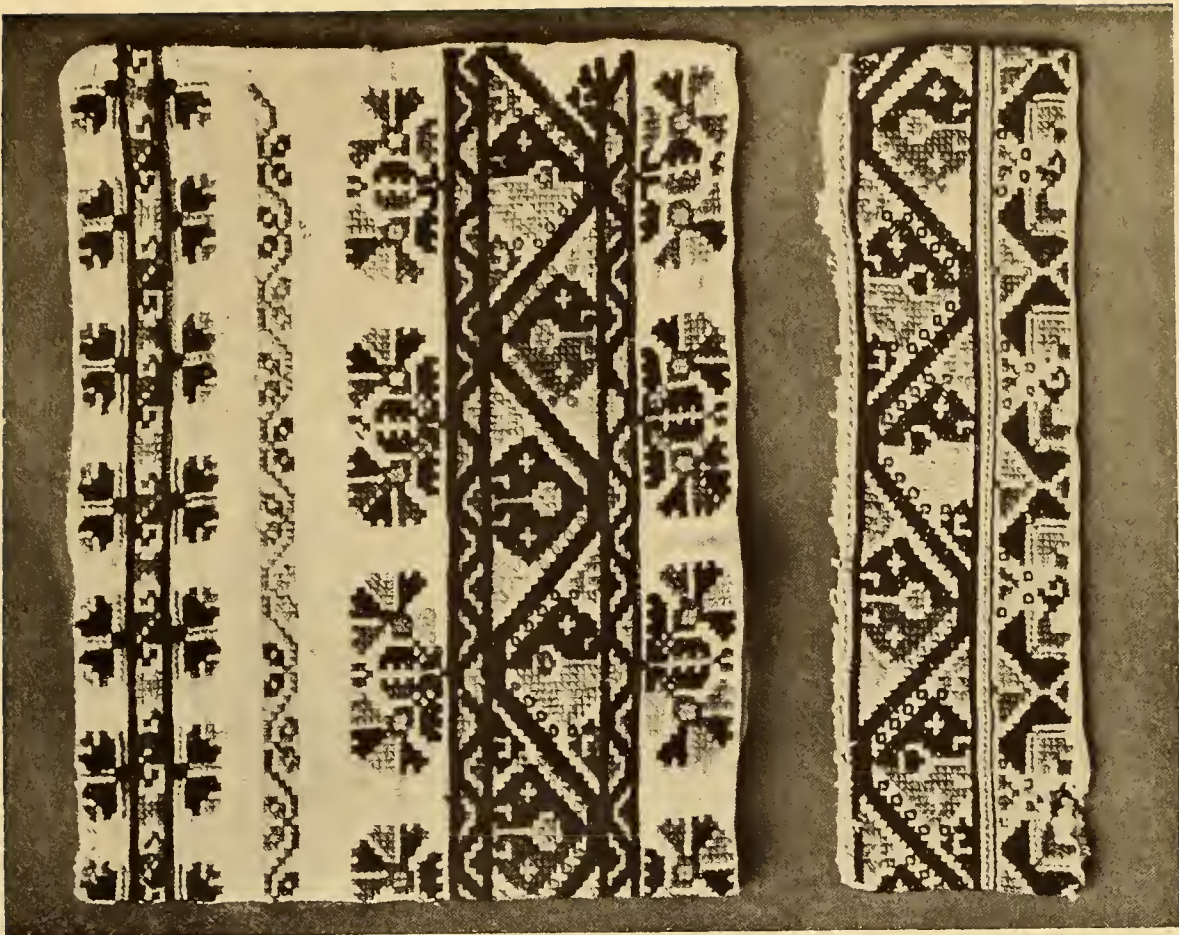


82—8

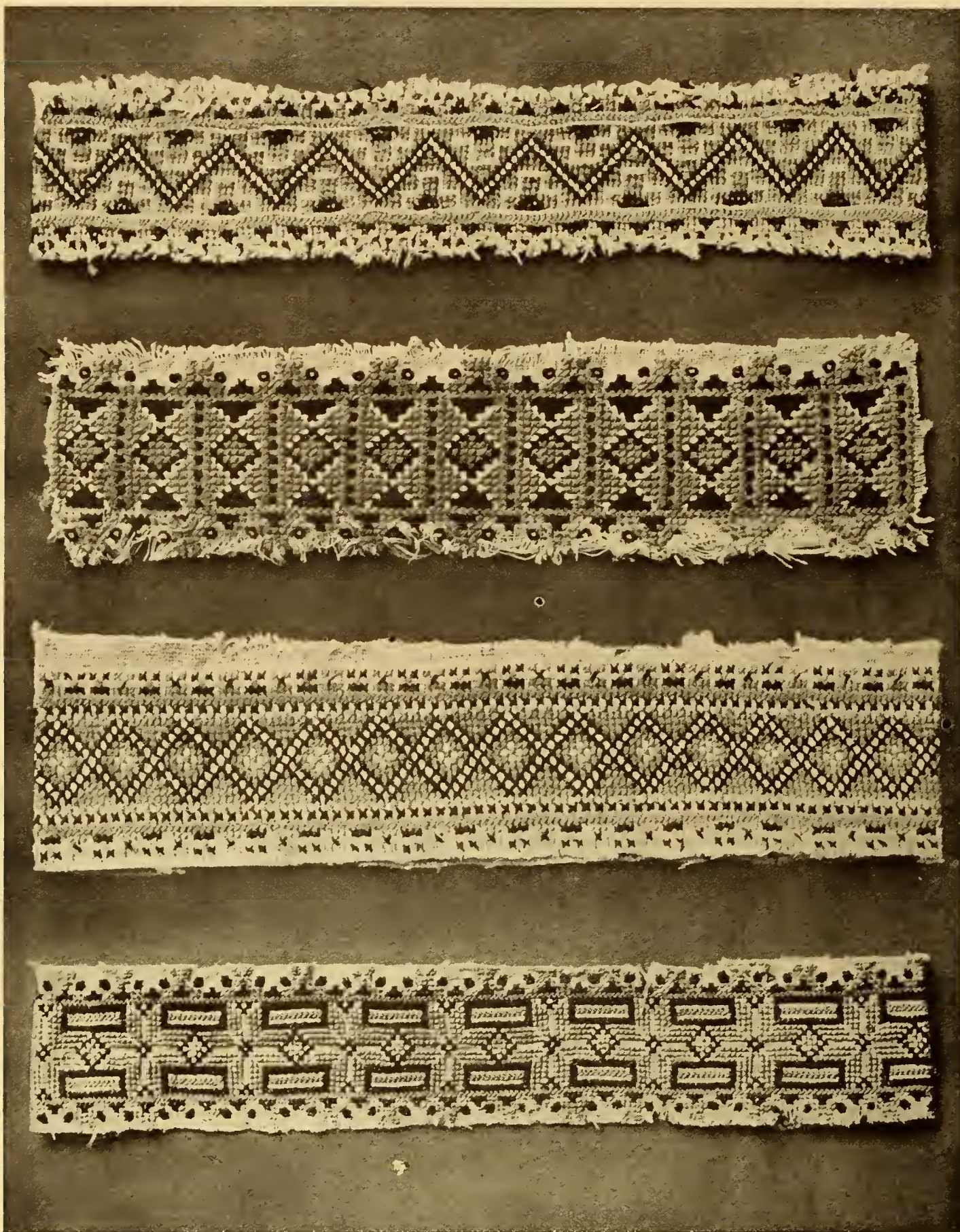


83a—d





85 a—e

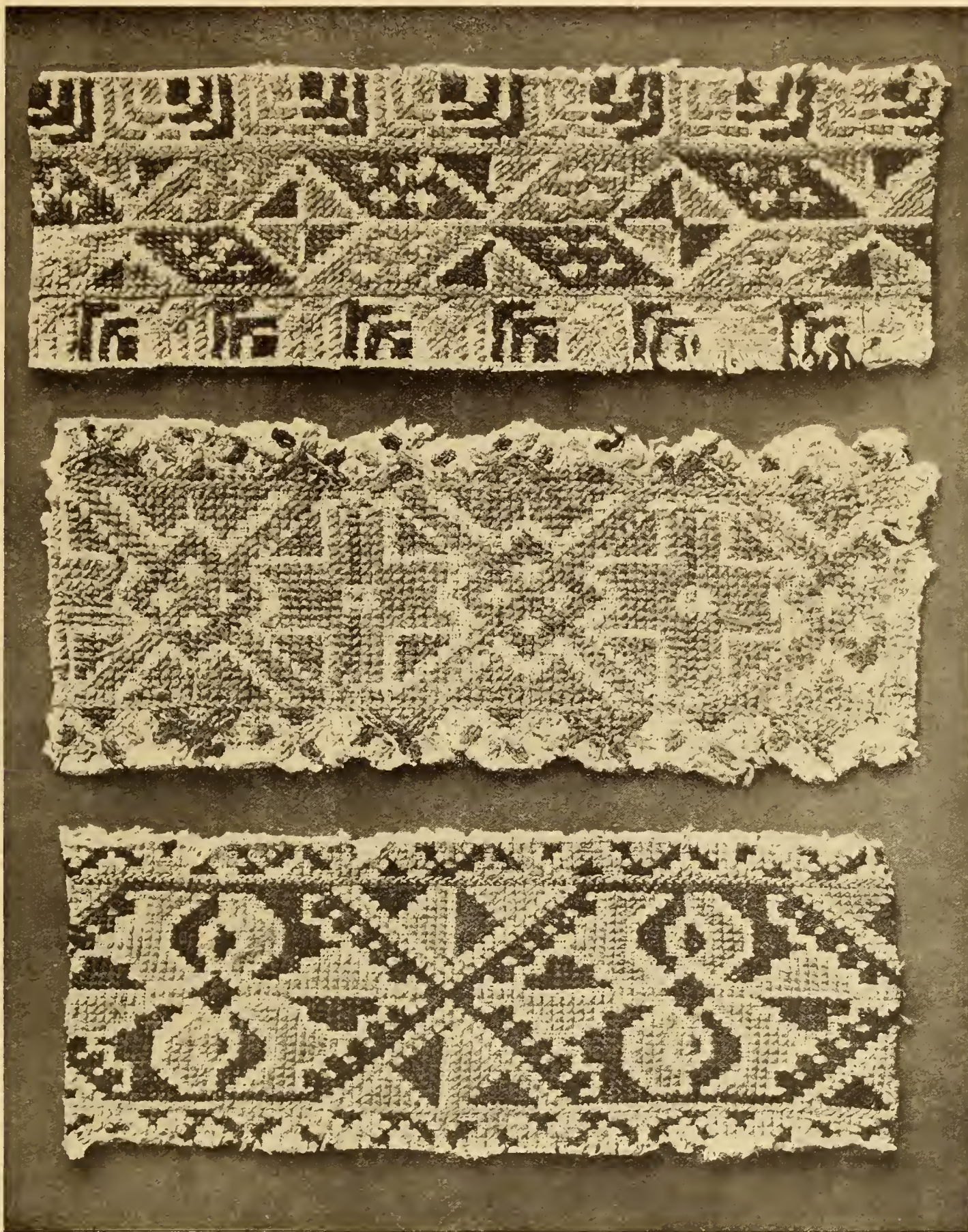


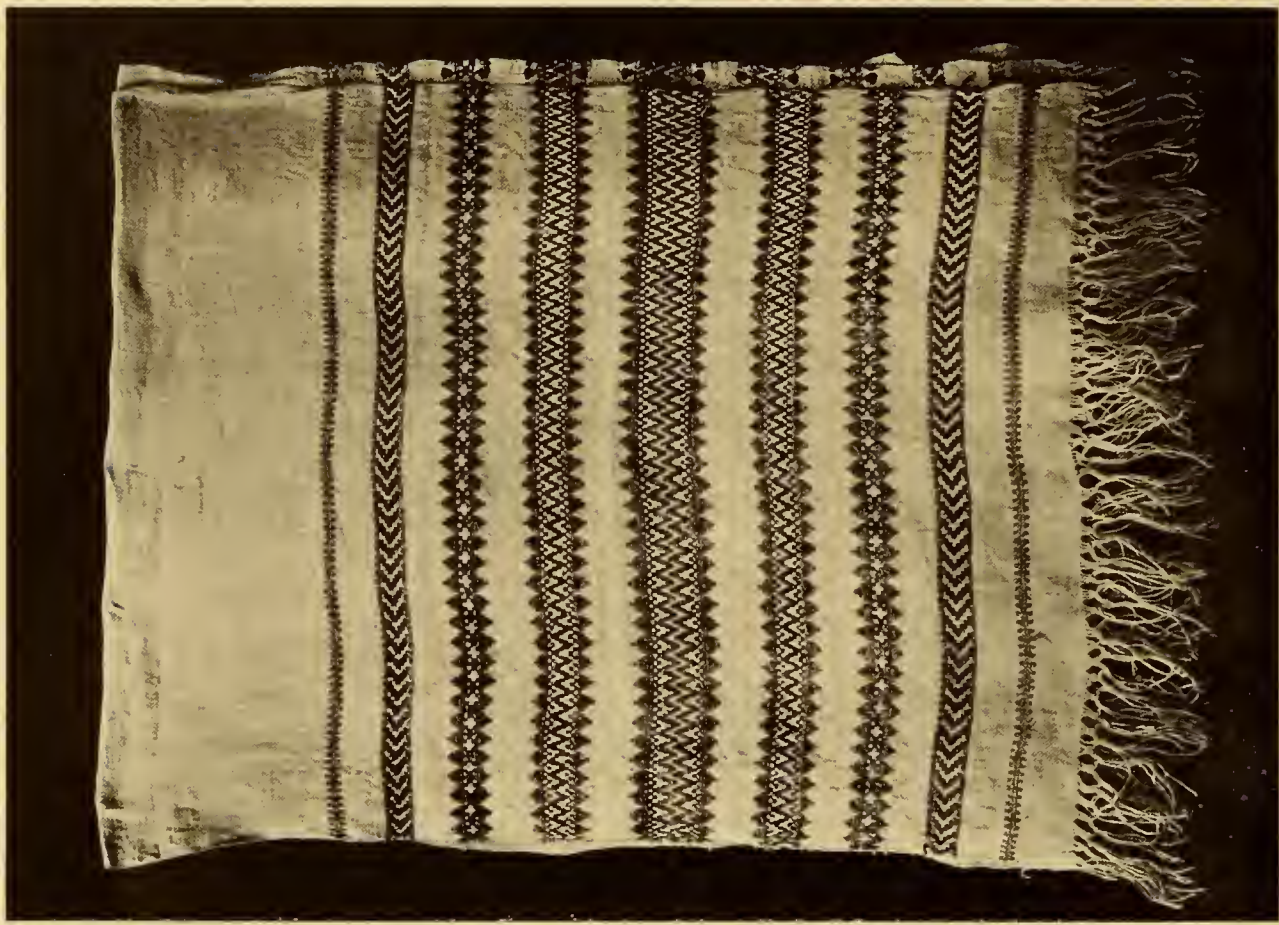




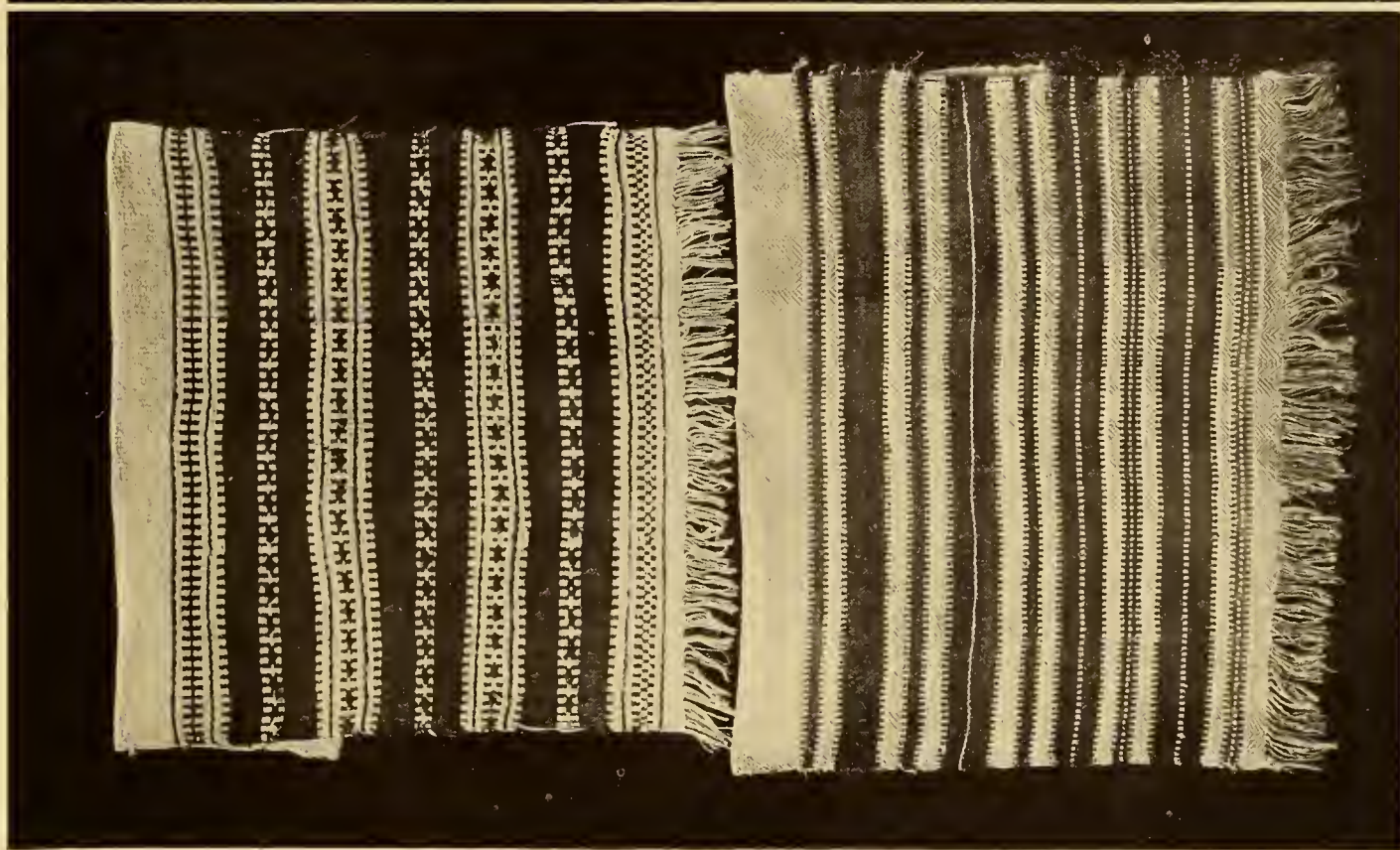








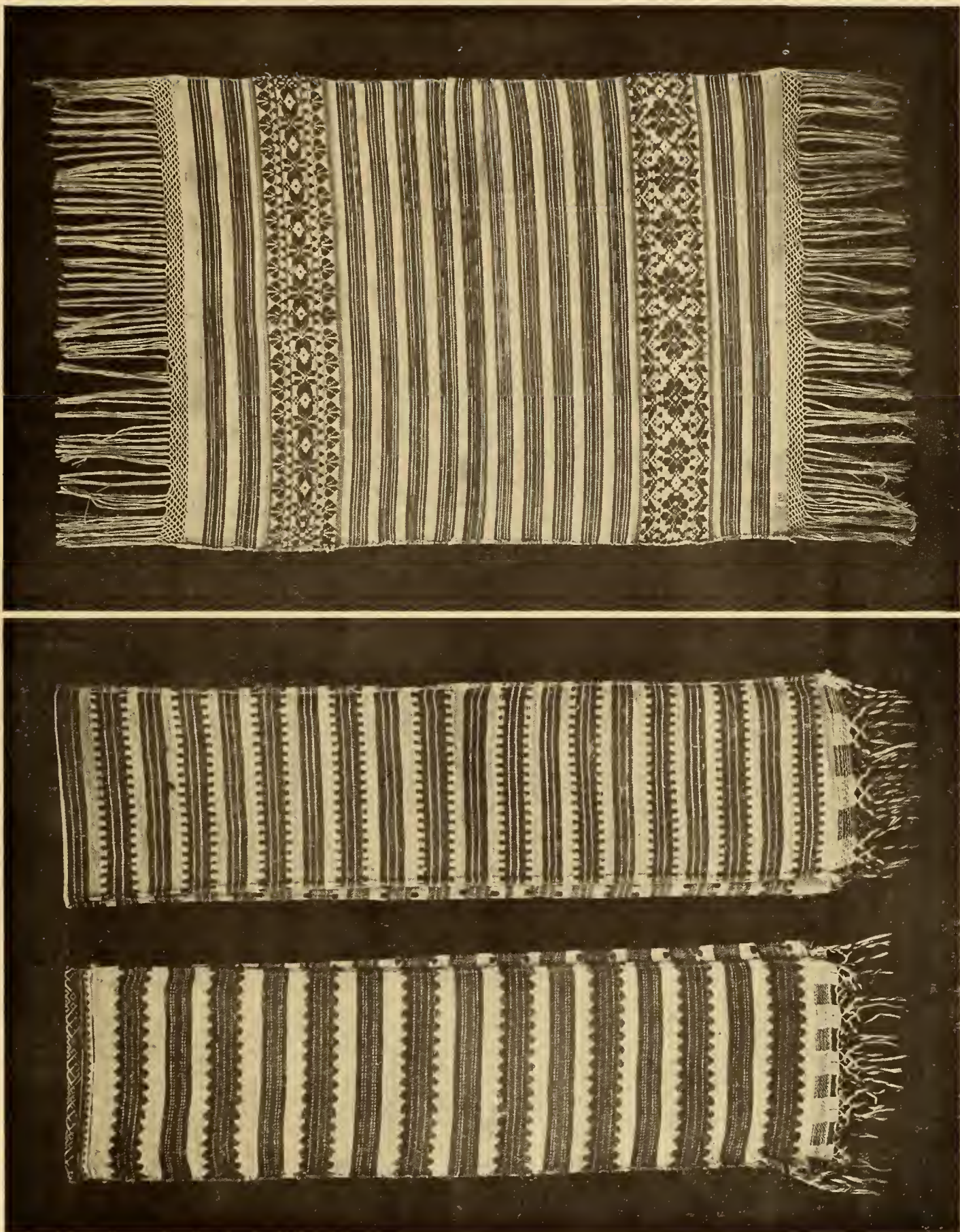
92 a—b



93 a—d

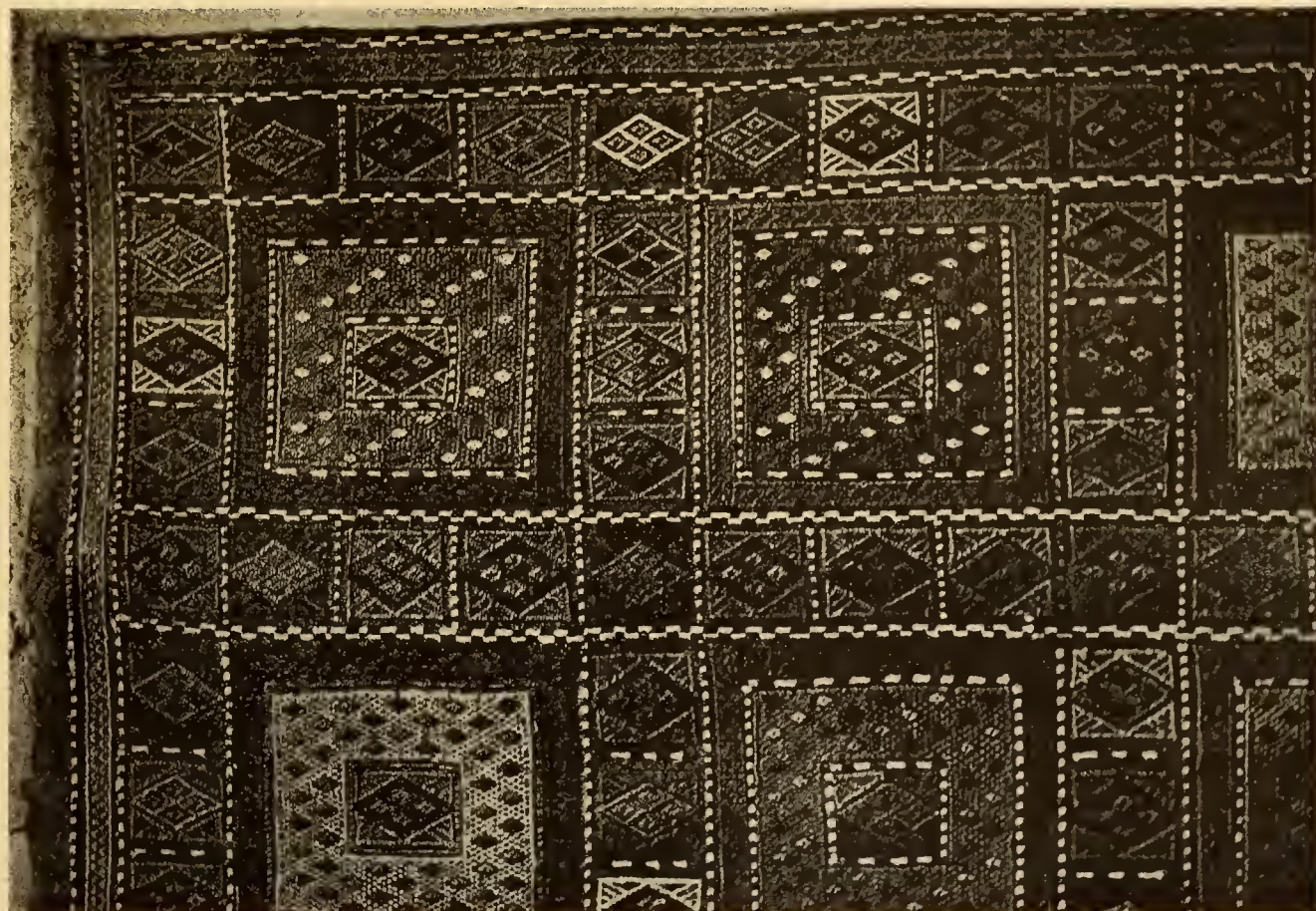


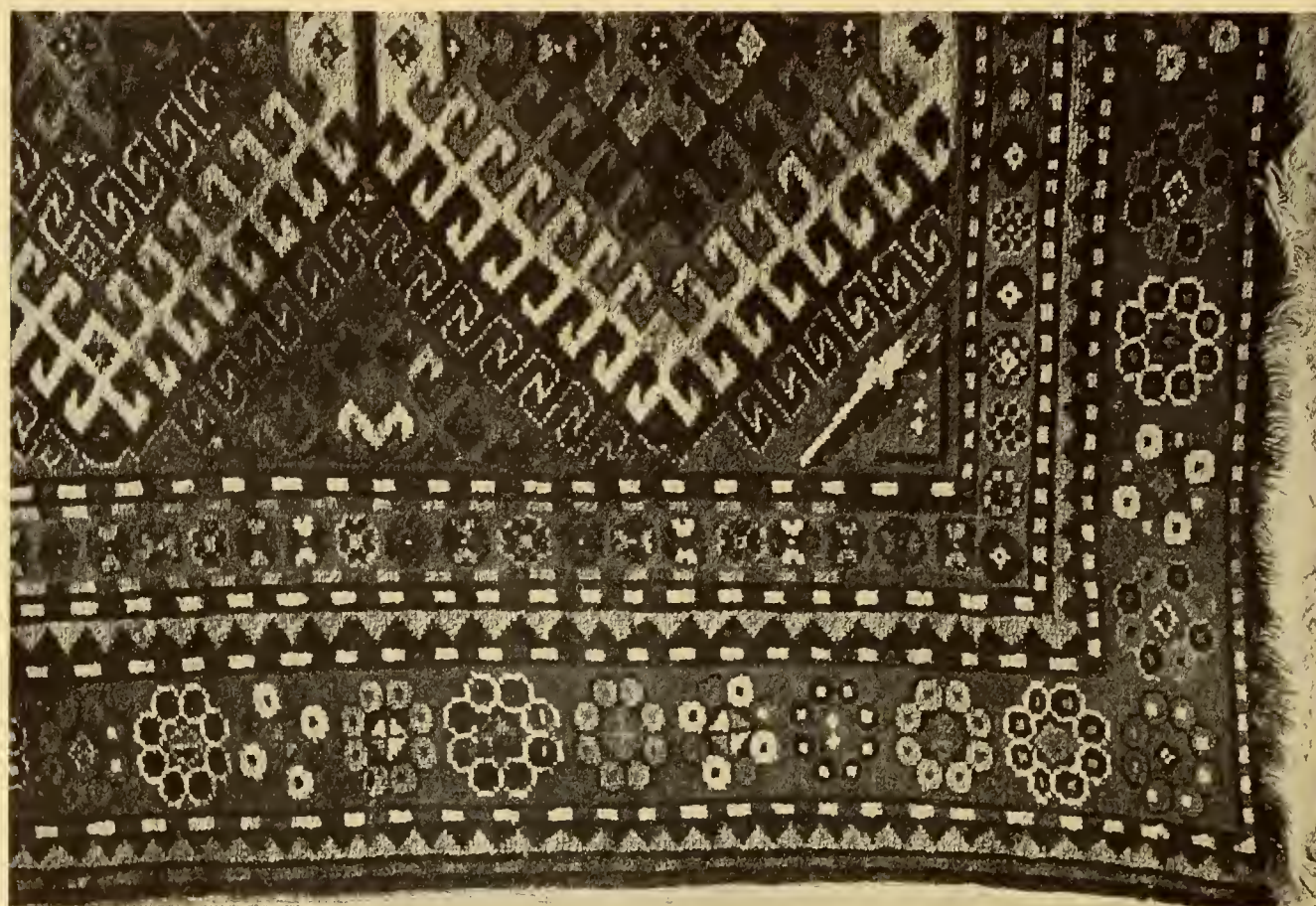
94 a—d



95 a—c









99 a—c

151



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110 plates, 10 of which are coloured

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